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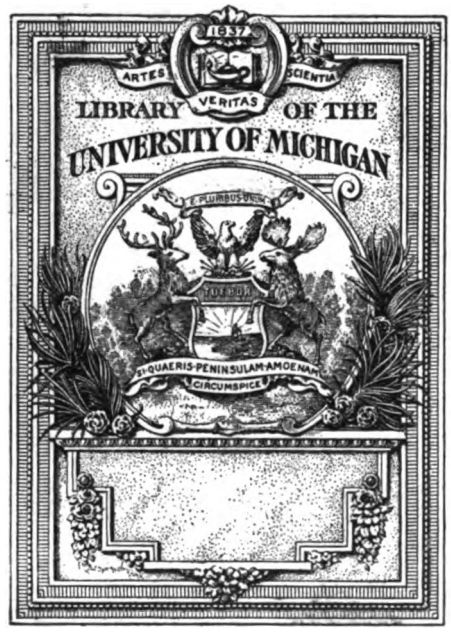

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TRAVELS

IN

ASIA MINOR, AND GREECE:

OR,

An Account of a Tour

MADE AT THE

EXPENSE OF THE SOCIETY OF DILETTANTI.

By R. CHANDLER, D.D.

FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE; AND OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

—— Juvat integros accedere fontes,
Atque haurire.—— LUCRET.

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TRAVELS

IN

ASIA MINOR.

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TO THE

SOCIETY OF DILETTANTI.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE relation of a journey into a remote country, performed at your expense, naturally claims the honour of your patronage, on its being submitted to general inspection. Indeed, justice requires that the Author should point out the sources of his intelligence; and, if information or amusement result from his undertaking, that the approbation of the public should be referred principally to his employers.

But, besides this motive for addressing you, the Author is happy in an opportunity of avowing the pride and pleasure, which he feels in having served a Society, composed of such illustrious and distinguished personages, as the *Dilettanti;* and in recording one remarkable instance of your munificent attention to letters and the arts.

The countries, to which his researches were particularly directed by your committee, have made a most conspicuous figure in history. The changes they have undergone, with their present state and remaining antiquities, were deservedly

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regarded as proper objects of inquiry. Your traveller, on his part, was solicitous, while abroad, to execute to your satisfaction, his share in the enterprize, which you so generously supported; and has since been assiduous in rendering the materials, confided to him, not unworthy of the Society, and of a favourable reception from the curious and learned.

The spirit of discovery, which prevails in this nation, will ever be reckoned among its most honourable characteristics; and when the various attempts, to which it has given rise, shall be enumerated, and their produce examined, this, it is presumed, will be found of no inconsiderable value, but will receive its portion of praise, and reflect some lustre on the name of the *Society of Dilettanti*.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect and deference,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your most obliged

and most obedient

humble Servant,

RICHARD CHANDLER.

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PREFACE.

THE following Work cannot, perhaps, be more suitably prefaced than with the instructions of the Committee of *Dilettanti*, which the Author has the leave of the Society to lay before the Public, and with a succinct account of the materials, which the Tour produced.

"INSTRUCTIONS FOR MR. CHANDLER, MR. REVETT, AND MR. PARS.

"WHEREAS the *Society of Dilettanti* have resolved, that a person or persons, properly qualified, be sent with sufficient appointments to some parts of the East, in order to collect informations, and to make observations, relative to the ancient state of those countries, and to such monuments of antiquity as are still remaining; and the Society having further resolved, that a sum, not exceeding two thousand pounds, be appropriated to that purpose; and having also appointed

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you to execute their orders on this head; we, the Committee entrusted by the Society with the care and management of this scheme, have agreed upon the following instructions for your direction, in the discharge of that duty, to which you are appointed.

" 1. You are, forthwith, to embark on board the Anglicana, Captain Stuart, and to proceed to Smyrna, where you will present to Consul Hayes, the letters which have been delivered to you, from One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and from the Turkey Company, and you will consult with Mr. Hayes, about the most effectual method of carrying those instructions into execution.

" 2. Our principal object at present is, that, fixing upon Smyrna as your head-quarters, you do from thence make excursions to the several remains of antiquity in that neighbourhood, at such different times, and in such manner, as you shall, from the information collected on the spot, judge most safe and convenient, and that you do procure the exactest plans and measures possible of the buildings you shall find, making accurate drawings of the bas-reliefs and ornaments, and taking such views as you shall judge proper; copying all the inscriptions you shall meet with, and remarking every circumstance, which can contribute towards giving the best idea of the ancient and present state of those places.

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" 3. As various circumstances, best learnt upon the spot, must decide the order in which you shall proceed in the execution of the foregoing article, we shall not confine you in that respect, and shall only observe in general, that, by a judicious distribution of your time and business, you may, with proper diligence, in about twelve months, visit every place worth your notice, within eight or ten days' journey of Smyrna; it may be most advisable to begin with such objects as are less distant from that city, and which may give you an opportunity of soon transmitting to the Society a specimen of your labours. You will be exact in marking distances, and the direction in which you travel, by frequently observing your watches and pocket-compasses, and you will take the variation as often as you can.

" 4. Though the principal view of the Society, in this scheme, is pointed at such discoveries and observations, as you shall be able to make, with regard to the ancient state of those countries, yet it is by no means intended to confine you to that province; on the contrary, it is expected, that you do report to us, for the information of the Society, whatever can fall within the notice of curious and observing travellers; and, in order to ascertain more fully our meaning on this head, we do hereby direct, that from the day of your departure from hence, to that of your return, you do, each of you, keep a very minute journal of every day's occurrences and observations, representing things exactly in the light

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they strike you, in the plainest manner, and without any regard to style or language, except that of being intelligible; and, that you do deliver the same, with whatever drawings you shall have made (which are to be considered as the property of the Society), to Mr. Hayes, to be by him transmitted, as often as conveyances shall offer, to us, under cover to William Russell, Esq. Secretary to the Levant Company, and you shall receive from us, through the same channel, such further orders as we may judge necessary.

" 5. Having ordered the sum of two hundred pounds to be invested in Mr. Chandler's hands, to defray all expenses which may be incurred, till your arrival at Smyrna, we have also ordered a credit in your favour, to the amount of eight hundred pounds *per annum*, to commence from the day of your arrival at that place, you giving drafts, signed by Mr. Chandler, and Mr. Revett, or Mr. Pars; the whole to be disposed of as follows; viz. one hundred pounds a year to Mr. Revett; eighty pounds a year to Mr. Pars, who are each of them to be paid one quarter in advance; the remainingsix hundred and twenty is to be applied to the common purposes of the journey, by Mr. Chandler, who is to be treasurer, paymaster, and accomptant, and may appropriate, to his private use, such part of that sum, as he shall find necessary, informing us of his management of the common stock, and transmitting to us his account from time to time.

" 6. And though our entire confidence in your prudence

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and discretion leaves us no room to doubt, but that perfect harmony and good understanding, which is so necessary, as well to your own happiness, as to the success of the undertaking, will subsist among you; yet, in order to prevent any possible dispute, which might arise about different measures, in the course of this expedition, we expressly declare, that the direction of the whole is hereby lodged in Mr. Chandler, assisted by Mr. Revett: and although Mr. Revett, and Mr. Pars, should protest against any measure proposed by Mr. Chandler, it is our meaning, that any such difference of opinion should not, in the least, interrupt or suspend your operations, but that, at the same time, that such persons as dissent from, or disapprove of, what is proposed, shall transmit to us their reasons for such dissent, they do notwithstanding continue to pursue Mr. Chandler's plan, until they receive our further orders for their conduct.

Given under our hands, at the Star and Garter, this seventeenth day of May, 1764.

CHARLEMONT.
ROB. WOOD.
THO. BRAND.
WM. FAUQUIER.
JAMES STUART.
MIDDLESEX.
LE DESPENCER.
J. GRAY.
BESBOROUGH.

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It may be proper to mention here, that Mr. Revett had given satisfactory evidence of his abilities, as an architect, in a work entitled *Ruins of Athens;* which, it will please the lovers of ancient elegance to know, is still carrying on by his companion and fellow-labourer, Mr. Stuart. Mr. Pars, a young painter, was recommended by his promising talents, and justified the hopes conceived of him. He has lately published a set of views in Switzerland, being part of a collection made for the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Palmerston; and is now preparing to study at Rome with a stipend from the *Society of Dilettanti.*

The diligence of these gentlemen was manifested in a large number of plans, views, and drawings, now in the possession of the Society; many of them taken in the tour related in the ensuing volume; and the remainder in Greece, particularly at Athens, where we resided several months, and where I made a very choice collection of ancient marbles, now likewise in the possession of the Society.

Soon after our return the Society generously ordered, that a specimen of these labours should be engraved and printed at their expense; and to this work, which they permitted to be published, entitled *Ionian Antiquities,* the reader is sometimes referred in the following volume. The preface was written by the late excellent Mr. Wood, the editor of the *Ruins of Palmyra and Balbec,* who also drew up our instructions; the account of the architecture by Mr. Revett; and

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the historical part by the relater. All the remaining views have been finished by Mr. Pars; and Mr. Revett is employed by the Society to complete the drawings of architecture.

The other materials were a book of inscriptions and a journal of our tour, which the Society were pleased to bestow on me, to be examined at my leisure and published. The inscriptions, many of which are uncommonly curious and ancient, have been lately printed in a separate volume; it having been judged expedient to detach them from the journal. The learned reader is referred to that collection for such of them as are connected with the following work.

The journal, consisting of two parts, one of which relates to ASIA MINOR, the other to GREECE, is now offered to the public. No labour has been spared in it; the geography of the countries is explained, and the narration illustrated by maps, plans, and charts; many mistakes are rectified, and difficulties obviated or removed.

The writer is aware, that he may be asked by the more curious reader, on what foundation he has mentioned in this volume certain barrows now extant, as those of Achilles and other classical heroes; as also his reason for supposing Niobe to be still visible on Mount Sipylus. The essay, advertised at the end of it, is partly intended to satisfy any such inquirer.

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TRAVELS

IN

ASIA MINOR.

CHAP. I.

Voyage to the strait of Gibraltar—Custom of the sailors—Our passage through the strait—A species of porpoise described. The sun-set remarkable—Ancient accounts of it—The cause.

We embarked at Gravesend on the 9th of June, 1764, in the Anglicana, a ship carrying sixteen guns, and thirty-two men, burden about three hundred tons. The commander was Capt. John Stewart; the price of our passage to Turkey sixty guineas. We had a fair wind; but our pilot, being in liquor, did not sail that evening.

On Whitsunday, early in the morning, we got under way with a brisk gale, and arrived in the Downs about four in the afternoon. The next day we weighed anchor again, and proceeded to Falmouth to complete our cargo. We were detained there from the 17th to the 24th, when we recovered our anchor with some difficulty, and got clear of the harbour. A signal was made for a pilot, but he did not come on board soon enough to be of use.

The wind had been very high while we were in the port of

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Falmouth, and the weather was still unsettled. Black louring clouds rendered the morning of our departure uncommonly gloomy and awful. After a heavy shower of rain we were becalmed in the mouth of the channel, the water heaving prodigiously, with the surface quite smooth and unbroken. We were carried along by the current, and land soon disappeared. We now encountered foul weather and contrary winds. The ship seemed but a wherry, and was agitated exceedingly by the sea, pitching and rolling, the waves frequently bursting over, and the swell affecting some of our oldest mariners.

On the 3d of July we made the rock of Lisbon. We had then a strong gale, and sailed at the rate of nine knots, or miles, in an hour. We had run one hundred and seventy knots in the last twenty-four hours. We here saw a grampus or whale spouting up water, which, in falling, formed a mist not unlike the smoke from a flash of gunpowder. It blew hard in the night, and the next evening we could discern Cape St. Vincent.

As we now approached near to the Mediterranean, some of the sailors had got a strong new rope, and prepared it for ducking such of the crew as were novices in this sea. They were to be let down from the yard-arm, with their hands and feet tied to two bars of wood, placed at convenient distances; but when every thing was ready, they all preferred the alternative, which is a small forfeit to be deducted from their pay.

Our passage through the strait of Gibraltar was amusing and delightful beyond imagination. The coast on each side is irregular, adorned with lofty grotesque mountains of various shapes, the majestic tops worn white with rain, and looking as crowned with snow. From one of the narrow valleys a thick smoke arose. The land is of a brown complexion, as sun-burnt and barren. On the Spanish shore are many watch-towers,

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ranging along to a great extent, designed to alarm the country by signals on the appearance of an enemy. We had Spanish and Moorish towns in view, with the rock and fortress of Gibraltar. Sea-birds were flying, and numerous small-craft moving to and fro on every quarter. We had a gentle breeze, and our sails all set, with the current from the Western or Atlantic Ocean in our favour. In this, the water was agitated and noisy, like a shallow brook running over pebbles; while in the contrary currents, it was smooth and calm as in a mill pond, except where disturbed by albicores, porpoises, and sea-monsters, which sported around us, innumerable. Their burnished sides reflected the rays of the sun, which then shone in a picturesque sky of clear azure, softened by thin fleecy clouds, imparting cheerfulness to the waves, which seemed to smile on us.

Our entry into the Mediterranean is here faintly described, as no words can convey the ideas, excited by scenes of so much novelty, grandeur, and beauty. The vast assemblage of bulky monsters, in particular, was beyond measure amazing; some leaping up, as if aiming to divert us; some approaching the ship, as if it were to be seen by us, floating together, abreast and half out of the water. We counted in one company fourteen of the species called by the sailors *The Bottle Nose*, each, as we guessed, about twelve feet long. These are almost shapeless, looking black and oily, with a large thick fin on the back, no eyes or mouth discernible, the head rounded at the extremity, and so joined with the body, as to render it difficult to distinguish, where the one ends or the other begins; but on the upper part is a hole about an inch and a half in diameter, from which, at regular intervals, the log-like being blows out water accompanied with a puff audible at some distance.

To complete this wonderful day, the sun before its setting

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was exceedingly big, and assumed a variety of fantastic shapes. It was surrounded first with a golden glory, of great extent, and flamed upon the surface of the sea in a long column of fire. The lower half of the orb soon after immerged in the horizon, the other portion remaining very large and red, with half of a smaller orb beneath it, and separate, but in the same direction, the circular rim approaching the line of its diameter. These two by degrees united, and then changed rapidly into different figures, until the resemblance was that of a capacious punch-bowl inverted. The rim of the bottom extending upward, and the body lengthening below, it became a mushroom on a stalk, with a round head. It was next metamorphosed into a flaming cauldron, of which the lid, rising up, swelled nearly into an orb, and vanished. The other portion put on several uncircular forms, and, after many twinklings and faint glimmerings, slowly disappeared, quite red; leaving the clouds, hanging over the dark rocks on the Barbary shore, finely tinged with a vivid bloody hue.

And here we may recollect, that the ancients had various stories concerning the setting of the sun in the Atlantic Ocean; as, for instance, that it was accompanied with a noise, as of the sea hissing, and that night immediately followed. That its magnitude in going down apparently increased, was a popular remark, but had been contradicted by an author, who observed thirty evenings at Gades, and never perceived any augmentation. One writer had affirmed, that the orb became an hundred times bigger than its common size.*

This phænomenon will vary, as it depends on the state of the atmosphere. It is likely to be most remarkable when west-

* Strabo, p. 138.

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erly winds have prevailed for some time; these coming over the Atlantic Ocean, and bringing with them the gross vapours, which arise continually, or are exhaled, from that immense body of water.

CHAP II.

Voyage continued—Arrive at Genoa—Manner of fishing in the Mole—the City—We set sail—At Leghorn.

The Angelica, being freighted for Genoa and Leghorn, we now shaped our course for the former port. We were becalmed, on the 7th of July, near the coast of Spain, off Cape de Gatte. We then had heavy showers and hard gales, by which we were driven out of our way, and our masts endangered. Light airs and clear weather followed; the sky blue, and spread with thin fleecy clouds. We had a view of several Spanish towns, and of St. Philip's castle in the Island of Minorca. We found the days lengthen as we advanced northward; and the wind, with a bright sun, very cold, coming from the Alps. We stood for Corsica with a brisk gale and a great swell, which took us on the weather side; the waves distinct, vast, and black, breaking with white tops. In the night it blew hard. We shipped several large seas, and rolled and tossed prodigiously. The gulf of Lyons almost equalled in turbulence the bay of Biscay.

We were becalmed, on the 17th of July, off Cape de Melle; and then had a fine gale, and approached Italy at the rate of twelve miles an hour. The Pharos of Genoa appeared as a tall pillar, the coast picturesque and mountainous, its slopes

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covered with white houses, looking from the sea as one continued city. We now regretted that the evening was near, fearing the land-breeze would spring up before we could get into the mole. It became hazy along shore, and the glorious prospect vanished. The breeze ceased, and the vessel seemed without motion. On one of the mountains a bright flame ascended; and round about us, on the water, were several fires made by fishermen in their boats, one of which we hailed.

The ship glided on towards the shore, almost insensibly, until the land-breeze reached us, scented with the delicious fragrance of odorous trees and flowering shrubs. We then fell to the eastward, to wait for a current, which sets in before morning. The night was still and clear. The moon, in its wane, gleamed on the waves and mountains. The coast was spangled with lights from the houses, which were over-topped by that of the Pharos. We could hear distinctly, at intervals, the bells of the churches and convents, which sounded sweetly soft and pensive. Early the next day we came to an anchor in the port.

An Italian proverb affirms, that the Genoese have *sea without fish*. However, from the great demand for that article of diet, the water is continually harassed. We had frequent opportunities of seeing the method of fishing within the mole. Several seines are united and extended so as to form a large semicircle, but much curved at the two extremities. The men then retire to some distance, and begin clattering with sticks or hammers on the sides of their boats; the noise, as is observed of thunder, making the fish rise. One, stationed on the yard-arm of a ship, takes notice which way they swim, and gives directions, until they are within the net, when they are driven towards the ends, and are soon entangled; or, trying from despair to leap over,

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fall on a wing, which is fastened to long reeds, and kept floating horizontally on the surface. The reward of much toil was, now and then, a few grey mullet. The thynnus, or tunny-fish, was anciently, and is now taken nearly in this manner, but in shoals, which endanger and often break the nets.

We were delighted at Genoa with the magnificent churches, the marble palaces, the pieces of excellent sculpture, and the many noble pictures, which adorn so profusely that admired city. But this splendour is contrasted by the general poverty and misery of the people. Beggars pestered us exceedingly; and a great number of persons occurred, variously, and often most shockingly deformed, witnessing early violence; nature, when uncontrolled, rarely failing to be regular, if not beautiful in her productions. One evening we saw a man amuse the populace by performing on a slack rope, which crossed the street; and, among other extraordinary feats, he hung by the neck, swinging, and clapping his hands at intervals.

We tarried at Genoa until the 25th of July, when we weighed anchor and got out of the mole in the night. On the second day we passed the island Gorgogna, by which were many sail of small-craft fishing under shore for anchovies. We were becalmed all night about three leagues from Leghorn. St. Antony was blamed for this delay, and punished in effigy by some of the sailors, who made an image with a piece of wood, which they clothed and threw overboard at the end of a line; a couple of nails, which were driven in, keeping the head downwards in the water. He was dragged in this manner until a breeze commenced, when they took him into the ship with caresses. In the afternoon we moored within the mole.

We had been advised to carry with us money, for our journey, in crown-pieces of silver, called imperial tallerie, from Leg-

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horn. Mr. Rutherfurd, an English merchant, accepted our bills on a banker in London ; and, on our arrival at Smyrna, we found that we gained more than *five per cent.* on the money we had imported, not including insurance, freight, and consulage, which, by the Anglicana, would have amounted to about two *per cent.* and that drawing on Leghorn from Smyrna would be nine and a half *per cent.* better, according to the then exchange, than drawing directly from Smyrna on London, exclusive of the beforementioned expenses.

We were detained at Leghorn by foul weather, the wind south, with thunder, lightning, and rain ; the air thick and hazy. Some ships, which had put to sea, were forced back again. We went daily on shore. One evening I was amused by a quack, who was very familiar with a viper, kissing and winding it about his head and neck. It remained twisted round the latter, while he harangued the crowd on the virtues of his medicines. Among these was a pill, on which he expatiated as of singular efficacy ; and which, he affirmed, possessed the wonderful property to distinguish by whom it was taken ; constantly withholding its beneficial operation from all schismatics and heretics, particularly the English.

CHAP. III.

Sail from Leghorn—In the Archipelago—Ruin of an ancient temple on Sunium—Pass Smyrna—Enter the Hellespont—Arrive at the inner castles—Quit the ship.

On the 10th of August we got out of the mole of Leghorn into the road, and early next morning set sail with a light and

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pleasant breeze. In the evening we were becalmed on the east side of the island Cabrera, in view of a fishing town. A brisk gale, with rain, issued from clouds resting on the mountains. A calm then followed, after which the wind veered about every moment. We had now left *Monte Christo* astern. In the afternoon it thundered, and a most violent squall overtook us, with rain, which quite obscured the sky. We had warning given us by a mighty agitation of the waves, and were prepared to receive it. The wind continued very high, and we made great way. In the morning it was fair and almost calm. We were then in sight of Sardinia.

A gentle breeze springing up, on the evening of the 14th of August, wafted us by Maritimo, a rocky island, on which is a fishing town. The next night we saw many lights on the coast of Sicily. We sailed with a fine gale by Sergentum, a large town on the slope of some hills. The air was exceedingly hot, and hazy over the land. We were becalmed beyond Malta in a chopping sea, and tossed prodigiously; but, on Sunday the 19th, a pleasant breeze commenced, which continued to follow us, without intermission, quite through the Archipelago or Ægæan Sea. We had seen a few turtles floating, and this day many porpoises approached very near us, some leaping out of the water, some turning, as if in pursuit of their prey, and darting through it with incredible swiftness.

On the 21st we were in view of the high-land of Modona, which had white clouds hanging over it, in the Morea of Peloponnesus; and, before evening, of the cape named Tænarum, now Matapan, which is the extremity of a mountain, sloping gradually to a point, having before it a piked rock. The disk of the setting sun was indented by the uneven tops of

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some remote hills, and the illuminated portion grew less and less, until it appeared as a small star. The next night we shortened sail, being near land, and the moon rising late. In the morning we approached Cythera or Cerigo. A rock called *The Egg*, at the west end of the island, with *The Two Brothers*, which stand out in the water, renders the pass dangerous to ships in the dark.

We sailed by Cape Malea, now St. Angelo, the sea almost smooth, but the waves swelling at intervals, with a hollow noise, and seeming to pursue us. We had the small island of Hydre in view at sun-set; with that called anciently Belbina, now St. George d'Albora a-head. The horizon was hazy, and it was the opinion of our sailors, that the friendly gale, which had accompanied us so long, was still likely to continue.

Our attention had been, for some time, agreeably engaged by the classical country, which surrounded us, and we were now near Sunium or Cape Colonne, and the coast of Attica. We regretted the approach of night, but the wind slackened, and in the morning we could see the mountains Hymettus and Pentele, and the island Ægina, and Calaurea or Poro in the Saronic gulf. At eleven, August the 23d, we had a distinct view of the ruin of the temple of Minerva Sunias on the promontory, and, by the help of a reflecting telescope, could count the number of the columns then standing.

We sailed close by the island Cea, which was of a parched aspect, with a few green trees on it, scattered among inclosures, wind-mills, and solitary churches or chapels. One of these, dedicated to St. Elias, stands on the summit of a high mountain. We had a brisk sky, and the sea, gently agitated by the wind, resembled a wide stream; but the tops of the mountains of Andros and of Eubœa were enveloped in thick clouds, and

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awful darkness. We steered between the two islands, and had a fine run in the night.

The next morning we had passed Psyra, corruptly called Ipsera: Scio was on our right hand; Lesbos or Mitylene on our left; and the mouth of the gulf of Smyrna not very remote before us. The plague, as we were informed at Leghorn, having appeared at this place in the spring, our captain was unwilling to arrive there before it should have ceased, and now resolved to proceed directly to Constantinople. The gale was fair, and the opportunity too favourable to be neglected, it being common in summer to meet with a contrary wind, and to be detained on the sea, or forced to anchor off Tenedos. We were opposite Cape Baba or Lectos, a promontory of M. Ida, in the evening; and had in view Tenedos and Lemnos, and the main land both of Europe and Asia. We could discern fires on Lesbos, as before on several islands and capes, made chiefly by fishermen and shepherds, who live much abroad in the air, to burn the strong stalks of the Turkey wheat and the dry herbage on the mountains. In the day-time a column of smoke often ascends, visible afar.

Saturday, August the 25th, the sun rising beautifully behind M. Ida, disclosed its numerous tops, and brightened the surface of the sea. We were now entering the Hellespont, with the Troad on our right hand, and on the left the Chersonese or peninsula of Thrace. About six in the morning we were within Sigéum, and the opposite promontory Mastusia. They are divided by a very narrow strait. We then passed between the two castles erected by Mahomet the Fourth in 1659: that on the European side stands high, the other low; and by each is a town. These structures, with the houses, the graceful minarets or turrets of the mosques, the domes and cypresses,

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the mountains, islands, and shining water, formed a view exceedingly delightful. The cocks crowed ashore, and were answered by those in our coops on board, the waves broke on the Asiatic beach with an amusing murmur, and the soft air wafted fragrance.

We now saw a level and extensive plain, the scene, as we conceived, of the battles of the Iliad, with barrows of heroes, and the river Scamander, which had a bank or bar of sand at the mouth. The stream was then inconsiderable, but, we were told, is in winter frequently swollen to a great size, and discolours the sea far without the promontories. The shore of the Chersonese, as we advanced, was steep, of a dry barren aspect, and contrasted by the Asiatic coast, which rises gently, M. Ida terminating the view. The width of the Hellespont, the smoothness of the water, and the rippling of the current, reminded us of the Thames. Xerxes but slightly degraded it, when he styled it a salt river.

We now approached the inner castles, which were erected by Mahomet the Second, and command a very narrow strait, dividing the two continents. By each is a town; and at that in Asia was hoisted a white flag, near the sea-side, and also a red one with the cross. These belonged to the English and French nations. As we had agreed to land here, the captain, when we were abreast with the Asiatic castle, brought the ship to, and made a signal for a scheick or wherry to come alongside. Our baggage was lowered into it with great expedition, and we quitted the ship, which fired three guns, and sailed away.

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CHAP. IV.

Turks described—Reception on shore—Dinner—The town—The river—The site of the two castles ascertained—The night.

AFTER leaving the Anglicana, we had scarcely time to contemplate the savage figures of our boat-men, who had their necks and arms bare, and their faces yellow from the sun, before we reached land. The current carried us below the castle, where we saw on the shore two Turkish women. But what figures! each wrapped in a white sheet, shapeless, and stalking in boots. A company of Turks, assembled on the beach to view the ship, seemed, as it were, a new species of human beings. They were in general large and tall; some with long, comely or venerable beards, of a portly mien and noble presence, to which their high turbans and loose garments, of various lively colours, greatly contributed; adding, besides their majesty, to the apparent bulk of the wearers.

We were received on shore by the English consul, a fat well-looking Jew, who, after bidding us welcome in broken Italian or Lingua Franca, conducted us through the town to his house, in the quarter assigned to that nation. We ascended some stairs into a room, which had a raised floor, covered with a carpet. Round three sides was a low sopha with cushions for leaning. The cooling breeze entered at the wooden-lattices of the windows. Their law, not permitting the Jews to touch fire on their sabbath, our host was in distress about our entertainment. However we were soon presented with the customary refreshments, a pipe of lighted tobacco; a spoonful of sweet-

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meat, put into our mouths; and coffee in a China cup, which was placed in one of fillegree-work to prevent it from burning our fingers. The consul then introduced to us a young man, his brother, and his wife and daughter; the latter a girl in a long white vest, with a zone about her middle, her feet naked, her nails dyed red, her hair platted, and hanging down her back. She came to us, and taking the right hand of each separately, kissed and gently moved it to her forehead.

We found some difficulty in complying with the oriental mode of sitting cross-legged, but at dinner it was necessary, the table being only a large low salver, placed on the carpet. A variety of dishes were served up in quick succession, and we were supplied as rapidly with cups of wine. We had no plates, or knives and forks, but used our fingers. The whole repast and the apparatus was antique. It concluded with fruits of wholesome quality, and exquisite flavour, figs and melons, such as are peculiar to hot climates, and grapes in large and rich clusters, fresh from the vineyard. The consul ate with us, while his brother waited with another Jew. When we had finished, we washed, one of our attendants bringing an ewer, a bason and a towel, and pouring water on our hands. We then received each a cup of coffee, and our host, who was much fatigued with his sultry walk to the beach, and afterwards to the governor to inform him of our arrival, retired with the whole family to sleep, as is the universal practice toward noon, when the heat becomes exceedingly intense.

In the evening we went with the consul to view the town. We found the houses numerous, mostly of wood, and mean, and the streets very narrow. We saw the manufactory of earthen ware, which is considerable; and we supposed the fashion had never altered, the jars and vessels, in general, re-

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taining the old shapes, and being formed, it seems, by ancient models. The situation of the place is low, and subject to epidemical disorders. Besides these, the plague, which commonly visits the inhabitants every year, is remarkably destructive, and seldom fails to make a long stay. The cemeteries are swelled to a great extent round the town, and filled with broken columns, pieces of granite, and marble fragments, fixed as grave-stones; some carved with Turkish characters in relievo, gilded and painted. In the Armenian burying-ground we discovered a long Greek inscription, on a slab of white marble, but not legible. On a rocky eminence, on the side next the Propontis, is a range of wind-mills.

The town and castle has on the south a river, which descends from M. Ida with prodigious violence after snow or rain upon the summits. Its source, as we were told, is seven hours up in the country. A thick wall had been erected, and plane-trees disposed, to keep off the torrent when it overflows, and to protect the buildings from its assaults. At the mouth, like the Scamander, it had then a bar of sand. The bed was wide, stony, and intersected with green thickets; but had water in the cavities, at which many women, with their faces muffled, were busy washing linen, and spreading it on the ground to dry.

This river enables us to ascertain the site of the inner castles, a point of some consequence in the topography of the Hellespont. Its ancient name, as appears from Strabo, was Rhodius, and it entered the sea between Dardanus and Abydos. The remnants of marble, which we saw in the burying-grounds about the town, have been removed thither, chiefly, from the ruins of these cities, particularly of the latter, which was the most considerable. The consul shewed us a head of an image

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of the Virgin Mary, which was found in the rubbish of a church there. On the European side, opposite to the Rhodius, was Cynossema, *The Barrow of Hecuba*, which is still very conspicuous, and within or close by the castle.

We returned, when we had finished our survey, to our lodgings, where we supped cross-legged, about sun-set. Soon after, when it was dark, three coverlets, richly embroidered, were taken from a press in the room, which we occupied, and delivered one to each of us; the carpet or sopha and a cushion serving, with this addition, instead of a bed. A lamp was left burning on a shelf, and the consul retired to his family, which lay, in the same manner, in an adjoining apartment. We pulled off our coats and shoes, and expected to be much refreshed by sleeping on shore. We had not been apprised of a nightly plague, that of bugs, which haunts the place, or perhaps rather the houses of the Jews. Two of us could not obtain rest for a moment, but waited the approach of dawn, with a degree of impatience, equalled only by our bodily sufferings, which cannot be described.

CHAP. V.

We pass down the Hellespont—Land in the Chersonese of Thrace—The town anciently Eleûs—Civility of the governor—The barrow, &c. of Protesilaus.

We had agreed in the evening to visit some neighbouring places on the continent, with the principal islands near the mouth of the Hellespont. Early in the morning the consul asked for money to purchase provisions, which, with other necessaries, were put into a scheick or wherry. He embarked

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with us, between the hours of eight and nine by our watches. We had six Turks, who rowed; a janizary, and a Jew servant. The two latter, with the consul, sate cross-legged before us, on a small carpet; as the rais or master of the boat did behind, steering with the handle of the helm over his shoulder.

We soon crossed the Hellespont, and, coasting by the European shore, saw several solitary king-fishers, with young partridges, among vast single rocks. The winter torrents had worn deep gullies; but the courses were dry, except a stream, which we were informed turns a mill. A narrow valley or two was green with the cotton plant and with vines, or sowed with grain.

After passing the mouth of a port or bay called anciently Cœlos, we landed, about eleven, on the Chersonese or Peninsula of Thrace, near the first European castle, within the entrance of the Hellespont, and ascended to the miserable cottage of a poor Jew in the town. Here a mat was spread on the mud floor of a room by the sea-side, and the eatables, we had provided, were placed on it. The noon-tide heat at this place was excessive. The consul retired, as usual, to sleep; while we also rested, or were amused with the prospect from the window. Beneath us was the shining canal, with Cape Mastusia on the right hand; and opposite, the Asiatic town and castle, with the noble plain divided by the Scamander; and the barrows mentioned before, two standing by each other not far from the shore, with Sigéum, and one more remote.

The ancient name of this town, which is exceedingly mean and wretched, was Eleûs. The streets or lanes are narrow and intricate. It is on the north-side of the castle, and ranges along the brink of a precipice.

When the heat was abated a little, we were informed that

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the governor gave us permission to refresh in his garden. We dismissed his messenger with a bac-shish, a *reward* or *present*, of three piasters,* and an excuse, that we were just going away; but this was not accepted; and we paid another piaster for seeing a very small spot of ground, walled in, and containing nothing, except two vines, a fig and a pomegranate tree, and a well of excellent water.

The Turks, after we were landed, had rowed the wherry round Mastusia, and waited for us without the point. In our way to them, by the castle-wall, we saw a large Corinthian capital; and an altar with festoons, made hollow and used as a mortar for bruising corn. Near the other end of the town is a bare barrow. By this was, formerly, the sacred portion of Protesilaus, and his temple, to which perhaps the marble fragments have belonged. He was one of the leaders in the Trojan expedition, and was killed by Hector. Afterwards he was worshipped as a hero, and reputed the patron or tutelar deity of Eleûs.

CHAP. VI.

Sail to Tenedos—Situation and modern history of the island—The port and town—The antiquities—Greek recreations—The night—The morning—The consul returns.

On our arrival at the wherry, which was behind the castle, we found our Turks sitting on the ground, where they had dined, chiefly on ripe fruits, with ordinary bread. We had

* A piaster is about half a crown English, and is equal in value to thirty peraus. These are a small silver coin, about the size of an English penny.

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there a wide and deep gulph, a portion of the Ægæan Sea, anciently called Melas, on our right hand; with Imbros, toward the entrance, twenty-five miles from Mustusa, and twenty-two from Lemnos, which lay before us; and beyond these, other islands, and the continent of Europe, in view. We had intended to visit Lemnos, and the principal places in that quarter; but, the wind proving contrary, we now steered for Tenedos, and, after rowing some time with a rough sea, hoisted sail. We passed by some islets, and about three in the afternoon reached the town. On opening the harbour, we discovered in it, besides small-craft, three Turkish galleys waiting to convey the Venetian bailow or resident, who was expected daily, to Constantinople; the ships of that republic being, by treaty, excluded from navigating the Hellespont.

The island Tenedos is chiefly rock, but fertile. It was anciently reckoned about eighty stadia, or ten miles in circumference, and from Segéum twelve miles and a half. Its position thus, near the mouth of the Hellespont, has given it importance in all ages; vessels bound toward Constantinople finding shelter in its port, or safe anchorage in the road, during the etesian or contrary winds, and in foul weather. The emperor Justinian erected a magazine to receive the cargoes of the corn ships from Alexandria, when detained there. This was a lofty building, two hundred and eighty feet long, and ninety broad. The voyage from Egypt was rendered less precarious, and the grain preserved until it could be transported to the capital. Afterwards, during the troubles of the Greek empire, Tenedos experienced a variety of fortune. The pirates, who infested these seas, made it for many years their place of rendezvous; the Othman seized it in 1302, procured the vessels, and from thence subdued the other islands of the Archipelago.

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The port of Tenedos has been enclosed in a mole, of which no part now appears above water, but loose stones are piled on the foundations to break the waves. The basin is encompassed by a ridge of the mountain. On the south-side is a row of wind-mills and a small fort; and on the opposite a castle by the shore. This was taken in the year 1656 by the Venetians in four days, but soon after abandoned as not tenable. The houses, which are numerous, stand at the foot, or on the slope, of an acclivity; with a flat between them and the sea, formed by weeds and slime from the water, and by soil washed down from above. They reckon six hundred Turkish families and three hundred Greek. The church belonging to the latter is decent.

We found here but few remains of antiquity worthy of notice. We perceived on our landing a large and entire sarcophagus, or stone coffin, serving as a fountain, the top-stone or lid being perforated to admit a current of water, which supplies the vent below; and on one side is an inscription.* A Greek inquired whether the characters were not Gothic. Near this was part of a fluted column converted into a mortar for bruising corn; and in a shop was a remnant of tesselated pavement then recently discovered. In the streets, the walls, and burying-grounds, were pieces of marble, and fragments of pillars, with a few inscriptions.†

In the evening, this being Sunday and a festival, we were much amused with seeing the Greeks, who were singing and dancing in several companies to music, near the town, while their women were sitting in groups on the roofs of the houses, which are flat, as spectators, at the same time enjoying the soft air and serene sky.

* Inscriptiones Antiquæ, p. 3. p. 4. † Ibid.

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We were lodged, much to our satisfaction, in a large room, with a raised floor matted, on which we slept in our clothes, in company with two Jews and several Greeks; a cool breeze entering all night at the latticed windows, and sweetening our repose.

In these countries, on account of the heat, it is usual to rise with the dawn. About day-break we received from the French consul, a Greek with a respectable beard, a present of grapes, the clusters large and rich, with other fruits, all fresh gathered. We had, besides, bread and coffee for breakfast, and good wines, particularly one sort, of an exquisite flavour, called Muscadel. The island is deservedly famous for the species of vine, which produces this delicious liquor.

We had been told, that an ancient building remained on the south side of the island, not much out of our way to the ruins of a city called Eski-Stamboul, on the continent of Asia. Our Turks were waiting at the boat, and we just ready to join them, when we were informed that a wherry was arrived from the Asiatic Dardanell, which she had lately left, and that the presence of the consul was required on some very urgent business at Constantinople. His brother, who had set sail in the morning early to overtake him, remained with us in his stead, and soon won our regard by his attention and civility.

CHAP. VII.

Leave Tenedos—An antiquity on the island—Fountains—Their construction—Their use—Face of the island—Set sail for the continent.

After some delay we got on board our wherry, and leaving the port of Tenedos, coasted, with the island on our right hand.

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We soon passed a creek, which is frequented by small craft during the vintage, and has near it a solitary church, with a fountain or spring of excellent water, and at some distance a quarry of stone or marble. The gullies and the slopes of the hills were green with vines. We doubled a craggy point, and saw some cliffs inhabited by wild pigeons ; with some partridges ; a few cattle; and a church, by which, we were told, is a water noted for its purgative qualities. We landed about ten on a fair beach, having gone almost half round the island.

We were now near the building, which we had purposed to examine. It proved a small arched room, the masonry ancient, underneath a mean ruined church. You descend to it by a few steps, with a light. The floor was covered with water. Near it was a fig-tree or two, and a fountain, with an inscription, in modern Greek characters, fixed in the wall.

The reader, as we proceed, will find frequent mention of fountains. Their number is owing to the nature of the country, and of the climate. The soil, parched and thirsty, demands moisture to aid vegetation. The verdure, shade, and coolness, its agreeable attendants, are rendered highly grateful to the people by a cloudless sun and inflamed atmosphere. Hence they occur not only in the towns and villages, but in the fields and gardens, and by the sides of the roads and of the beaten tracts on the mountains. Many of them are the useful donations of humane persons, while living; or have been bequeathed as legacies on their decease. The Turks esteem the erecting of them as meritorious, and seldom go away, after performing their ablutions or drinking, without gratefully blessing the name and memory of the founder.

The method of obtaining the necessary supplies of water used by the ancients still prevails. It is by conveying the fluid

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from the springs or sources, which are sometimes very remote, in earthen pipes or paved channels, carried over the gaps and breaks in the way on arches. When arrived at the destined spot, it is received by a cistern with a vent; and the waste current passes below from another cistern, often an ancient sarcophagus or coffin. It is common to find a cup of tin or iron hanging near, by a chain; or a wooden scoop with a handle, placed in a niche in the wall. The front is of stone or marble; and in some, painted and decorated with gilding, and with an inscription in Turkish characters in relievo.

The women resort to the fountains by their houses, each with a large two-handled earthen jar on their back, or thrown over the shoulder, for water. They assemble at one without the village or town, if no river be near, to wash their linen, which is afterwards spread on the ground or bushes to dry. To these also the Turks and Greeks frequently repair for refreshment; especially the latter on their festivals, when whole families are seen sitting on the grass, and enjoying their early or evening repast, beneath the trees, by the side of a rill. And at those near the roads, the traveller, sun-burnt and thirsty, after a scorching ride, finds cool water, the shelter of a plane or of some spreading tree, and a green plat to repose or dine on; affording him a degree of pleasure not adequately conceived, unless by those who have experienced it.

We agreed to let the heat of noon be passed, before we proceeded on our voyage. A carpet was spread for us under a shady holme, and a fire kindled at some distance. We now received each a lighted pipe and a dish of coffee. A kettle was then filled with water, and some fowls, which we had provided, made ready to be boiled. The French consul, who had joined us, undertook to furnish grapes. His vineyard was a considerable way off toward the town, but two of us, attended

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by a couple of armed Turks, chose to accompany him. We crossed a kind of heath spread with wild thyme, sage, and low bushes of mastic, to a spot shaded with cypresses, where was a church, as miserable as that we had left, consisting only of loose stones piled for walls, without a roof. It had a well close by. We saw a few trees, some common stubble, and some fields of Turkey wheat, and of sesamus. The soil was parched; but in the centre of the island we found a large tract sheltered by naked barren hills, and green with olive trees and with vines. The grapes hung in numerous clusters, rich and tempting; and we ate freely, being assured the fruit was innocent and even wholesome, especially if plucked before the air within it was rarified by the sun. In about a fortnight the vintage was to commence, when a guard of ten Turks is placed to secure the property from pilferers or pirates. Among the hills, one towers far above the rest, and has on its summit a church or chapel dedicated to St. Elias. The form is conical, and it is seen over the main-land of Asia coming down the Hellespont.

On our return to the tree we found the company there had been uneasy at our absence, fearing we had strayed or were detained by some untoward accident. We dined and slept in the shade; and soon after, the French consul took leave of us. About two in the afternoon we sailed with a brisk gale, steering for Eski-Stamboul, anciently called Troas and Alexandria Troas. The distance of this city from Tenedos was reckoned forty stadia or five miles. Some of its ruins are in view, standing on an eminence; the uneven summits of Mount Ida covered with trees rising beautifully behind.

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CHAP. VIII.

Flight of cranes—View of Alexandria Troas—Return to our boat—Mount Athos—Manner of passing the night—Way back to the ruins.

On the way from Tenedos we were amused by vast caarvans or companies of cranes, passing high in the air from Thrace, to winter, as we supposed, in Egypt. We admired the number and variety of the squadrons, their extent, orderly array, and apparently good discipline. About a quarter after three we landed near the ancient port of Troas.

We immediately began a cursory survey of this deserted place; ascending to the principal ruin, which is at some distance from the shore. The whole site was overspread with stones and rubbish intermingled with stubble, plantations of cotton and of Turkey wheat, plats of long dry grass, thickets and trees, chiefly the species of low oak, which produces valanea, or the large acorns used in tanning. A solemn silence prevailed, and we saw nothing alive, but a fox and some partridges. In the mean time, the Turks, who were left in the wherry, removed about three miles lower down, towards the promontory Lectos, where the beach afforded a station less exposed to the wind, and more secure.

The evening coming on, we were advised to retire to our boat. By the way we saw a drove of camels feeding. We came to a shed, formed with boughs round a tree, to shelter the flocks and herds from the sun at noon; and under it was a peasant, who had an ass laden, besides other articles, with a goatskin containing sour curds, on which, and some brown bread, our Turks made their evening meal. A goatskin, with

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the hair on, served likewise for a bucket. It was distended by a piece of wood, to which a rope was fastened. He drew for us water from a well not far off, and promised to bring us milk, and a kid the next day. We found our cook, a Jew, busy by the sea-side preparing supper; his tin-kettle boiling over a fire in the open air.

The beauty of the evening in this country surpasses all description. The sky now glowed with the rich tints of the setting sun, which, skirting the western horizon, raised, as it were, up to our view the distant summits of the European mountains. We saw the cone of Athos distinctly, bearing from us 55m. west of north. This top is so lofty, that the sun-rising is beheld on it three hours sooner than by the inhabitants of the sea-coast.* The shadow of the mountain at the solstice reached into the Agora or *Market-place* of Myrina, a town in Lemnos, which island is distant eighty-seven miles eastward.† The shore is strewed with pumice-stones, once perhaps floating from Ætna or Vesuvius, unless ejected by some nearer volcano. Indeed, the pikes both of Athos and of Tenedos suggest the idea, that their mountains have burned; and it is possible, that these, with many of the islands in this sea, may have been the produce of eruptions, which happened at a period too early to be recorded in history.

We had here no choice, but were forced to pass the night on the beach, which was sandy. The Turks constructed a half-tent for us near our boat, with the oars and sail. We now discovered that we had neglected to procure wine and candles at Tenedos. We did not, however, remain in the dark. An extemporary lamp supplied one omission. It was a cot-

* Strabo, p. 331. † Pliny Nat. Hist. l. 4. xxiii.

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ton-wick swimming in oil, on a bit of cork in a drinking-glass, suspended by a string. By this light, the Turks, sitting before us on the ground, cross-legged, endeavoured to amuse us, by teaching us the numbers in their own language, or by learning them in English. Some desired us to distinguish each by his name, *Mahmet*, *Selim*, *Mustapha*, and the like. They were liberal of their tobacco, filling their pipes from their bags, lighting and presenting them to us, as often as they saw us unprovided. Our janizary, who was called Baructer Aga, played on a Turkish instrument like a guittar. Some accompanied him with their voices, singing aloud. Their favourite ballad contained the praises of Stamboul or Constantinople. Two, and sometimes three or four, danced together, keeping time to a lively tune, until they were almost breathless. These extraordinary exertions were followed with a demand of bac-shish, *a reward* or *present;* which term, from its frequent use, was already become very familiar to us. We were fatigued by our rough hot walk among the ruins, and growing weary of our savages, gladly lay down to rest under the half-tent. The Turks slept by us, upon the ground, with their arms ready, in case of an alarm, except two, who had charge of the boat. The janizary, who watched, sate smoking, cross-legged, by the fire. The stars shone in a clear blue sky, shedding a calm serene light: the jackalls howled in vast packs, approaching near us, or on Mount Ida; and the waves beat gently on the shore in regular succession.

We rose with the dawn, ready dressed, hoping to get to the ruins in the cool of the morning. It was necessary to take water with us, as none could be procured there. A well, by which the peasant had agreed to leave his bucket for our use, with his ass, was known only to the janizary, and we resolved

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to accompany him to the place, rather than wait for his return. Some of the Turks carried our umbrella, and earthen jar, and instruments for measuring or drawing. After going about half a mile by the sea towards Lectos, we turned to the left, and crossing the plain, and two water-courses, one of which was not quite dry, came to a root of Mount Ida, and a vineyard. We entered, and saw nobody, but gathered as many grapes as we chose; and, loading the ass with our luggage, repassed the plain to the great ruin at Troas, distant about an hour. Some peasants were employed in a field of Turkey wheat on the way, and their dogs worried us exceedingly.

CHAP. IX.

Policy of Alexander the Great—Alexandria Troas—Its situation—Ports—Appearance—Remains—The principal ruin—Inscriptions—The Aqueduct—Account of it—Of Atticus Herodes—No churches visible—The marbles removed.

ALEXANDER the Great, instead of marking his progress by devastation, wisely provided more lasting and honourable monuments of his passage through the countries which he subdued; causing cities and temples to be erected, and forming plans for their improvement and future prosperity. As his stay was commonly short, the execution of his noble designs was committed to the governors, whom he appointed; men of grand ideas, fitted to serve so magnificent a master. Alexandria Troas was one of eighteen cities, which bore his name.

This city was begun by Antigonus, and from him first called Antigonia; but Lysimachus, to whom, as a successor of Alexander, it devolved, changed the appellation in honour of the

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deceased king. In the war with Antiochus it was eminent for its fidelity to the Romans, who conferred on it the same privileges as the cities of Italy enjoyed. Under Augustus, it received a Roman colony, and increased. It was then the only considerable place between Sigéum and Lectos, and was inferior to no city of its name, but Alexandria in Egypt.*

Alexandria Troas was seated on a hill, sloping towards the sea, and divided from M. Ida by a deep valley. On each side is an extensive plain, with water-courses. The founders, it is probable, were aware, that, like Tenedos, it would derive many advantages from its situation on the coast, near the mouth of the Hellespont.

The port of Troas, by which we landed, has a hill rising round it in a semicircle, and covered with rubbish. Many small granite pillars are standing, half buried, and much corroded by the spray. It is likely the vessels were fastened to them by ropes. A sand-bank, at the entrance, had cut off the communication with the sea, and the smaller basin was dry. The larger had water, but apparently shallow. Its margin was incrusted with spontaneous salt. Both were artificial, and intended for some small craft and galleys; ships of burthen anchoring in the road without the mole.

The city wall is standing, except toward the vineyard, but with gaps, and the battlements ruined. It was thick and solid, had square towers at regular distances, and was several miles in circumference. Besides houses, it inclosed many magnificent structures; but now appears as the boundary of a forest or neglected park. A map belonging to Mr. Wood, and made, as we supposed by a Frenchman, in 1726, served us

* Strabo, p. 593.

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as a guide. The author, it is imagined, believed, as other travellers had done, that this was the site of Troy, or of a more recent city named Ilium, instead of Alexandria Troas.

Confusion cannot easily be described. Above the shore is a hollow, overgrown with trees, near which Pococke saw remains of a stadium or place for races, sunk in the ground; and higher up is the vaulted substruction or basement of a large temple. We were told this had been lately a lurking-place of banditti; who often lay concealed here, their horses tied in rows to wooden pegs, of which many then remained in the wall. It now swarmed with bats; much bigger in size than the English, which on our entering, flitted about, innumerable; and settling, when tired, blackened the roof. Near it is a souterrain; and at some distance, vestiges of a theatre and of an odéum, or *music theatre*. These edifices were toward the centre of the city. The semicircular sweep, on which their seats ranged, is formed in the hill, with the ends vaulted. Among the rubbish, which is of great extent, are a few scraps of marble and of sculpture, with many small granite pillars.

The principal ruin, which is that seen afar off by the mariners, commands a view of the islands of Tenedos and Lemnos; and, on one side of the plain to the Hellespont, and of the mountains in Europe. Before it is a gentle descent, woody, with inequalities, to the sea, distant by computation about three miles. It was a very ample building, and, as we supposed, once the gymnasium, where the youth were instructed in learning and in the exercises. It consists of three open massive arches, towering amid walls, and a vast heap of huge materials. They are constructed with a species of stone, which is full of petrified cockle-shells, and of cavities, like honey-comb. The latter, it is likely, have occasioned the

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name used, as Pococke relates, by the peasants, Baluke Seria, *the palace of honey*, which he thinks may be derived from Baal. The piers have capitals and mouldings of white marble, and the whole fabric appears to have been incrusted. Some remnants of the earthern spouts or pipes are visible. A view of it, which belonged to Mr. Wood, has been lately published.* On one side is a ruin of brick ; and behind, without the city wall, are sepulchres. One of these is of the masonry called *reticulated*, or *netted*.

A city distinguished, and flourishing by Roman favour, would not be tardy in paying the tribute of adulation to its benefactors. The peasant shewed me a marble pedestal inscribed in Latin, the characters large, plain, and well-formed. We found, near this, two other pedestals, one above half buried in rubbish, but the Turks cleared the front with their sabres to the eighth line. All three were alike, and had the same inscription, except some slight variations. They had been erected by different cities in honour of Caius Antonius Rufus, flamen or high priest of the god Julius and of the god Augustus. A maimed trunk, which we saw, was perhaps one of the statues ; and it is probable the basement, before noted, belonged to the temple dedicated to the deities whom he served, or to the goddess Rome. These marbles are about midway between the principal ruin and the beach. A Venetian officer afterwards informed us, that he had removed one of them on board his ship, then in the gulph of Smyrna, by order of the captain, while they lay at anchor near Tenedos, waiting for the bailow, whose time of residence at Constantinople was expired. We made diligent search for inscriptions, but discovered, besides

* See Essay on Homer "Ancient ruins near Troy," &c.

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the abovementioned, only a small fragment of a pedestal, on which the name of Hadrian occurs.

An aqueduct begins behind the city, not far from the sepulchres, and is seen descending and crossing the country on the side next the Hellespont, extending several miles. The piers, which we measured, are five feet nine inches wide; three feet and two inches thick: the void between them, twelve feet and four inches. The arches are all broken.

The history of this noble, and once useful structure, affords an illustrious instance of imperial and private munificence. An Athenian, Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes, presided over the free cities of Asia. Seeing Troas destitute of commodious baths, and of water, except such as was procured from muddy wells or reservoirs made to receive rain, he wrote to the emperor Hadrian not to suffer an ancient and maritime city to be destroyed by drought, but to bestow on it three hundred myriads of drachms for water, especially as he had given far greater sums even to villages. Hadrian readily complied, and appointed him overseer of the building. The expense exceeded seven hundred myriads,* and it was represented to the emperor as a grievance, that the tribute from five hundred cities had been lavished on one in an aqueduct. Herodes, in reply, begged him not to be displeased, that having gone beyond his estimate, he had presented the overplus of the sum to his son, and he to the city.

We shall have occasion to mention Atticus Herodes again, and his name will occur often in the account of our travels in Greece. His grandfather, Hipparchus, had been accused of tyranny, his estate confiscated, and his son, Julius Atticus, re-

* Five hundred myriads amount to 161468*l.* 6*s.* 1*d.* *English.*

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duced to poverty. Julius discovered a treasure in one of the houses, which belonged to him, by the theatre at Athens. The quantity was so great, that his apprehension exceeded his joy, and he wrote to Nerva the emperor, desiring to know his pleasure concerning it. Nerva replied "use what you have found;" and, on a fresh application, "abuse if you will, what Mercury has given you." Julius, thus possessed of unexpected affluence, married a wife with a vast dowry. His riches were inherited by their son, Atticus Herodes, who was born at Marathon, carefully educated under the most eminent masters, and became so famous for learning and extemporary eloquence, that perhaps no sophist ever surpassed him in brilliancy of reputation. He was raised to the first dignities of Athens, and to the consulate, with Torquatus, at Rome, in the year of our Lord one hundred and forty three. His generosity equalled his wealth, and was as extensive as noble. Many temples were enriched by his magnificent offerings. His costly buildings adorned Asia, Greece, and Italy. Statues were erected to him, and the cities vied with each other in extolling their common benefactor. Several of them still retain monuments of his splendour, and records of his liberality.

The Christian religion was planted early at Troas. In the beginning of the fifth century, the bishop Silvanus, was required to deliver a vessel from a dæmon, which was believed to detain it, as it could not be launched. It was intended for transporting large columns, and was of great size. Going down to the beach he prayed, and taking hold of a rope, called on the multitude to assist, when the ship readily obeyed him, and hurried into the sea.* But the churches have been so long demolished, that the traces of them are uncertain.

* See Scozomen vii. 37. Socrates. l. i.

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The desolation of this place was begun, and probably completed, before the extinction of the Greek empire. Many houses and public structures at Constantinople have since been raised with its materials. We found only a few inconsiderable remnants of white marble by the principal ruin, where formerly was a vast heap. Some pieces in the water by the port, and two large granite columns, were perhaps removed to the shore to be ready for embarkation. The magazine is yet far from being exhausted. The name Troas was not become obsolete in the year 1389.

CHAP X.

An accident—At the vineyard—In want of provisions—Are joined by the owner of the vineyard—In fear of banditti.

We were employed at Troas chiefly in taking a plan and two views of the principal ruin. We dined under a spreading tree before the arcade; and on the second day had just resumed our labour, when we were almost reduced to fly with precipitation. One of the Turks, coming to us, emptied the ashes from his pipe, and a spark of fire fell unobserved in the grass, which was long, parched by the sun, and inflammable like tinder. A brisk wind soon kindled a blaze, which withered in an instant the leaves of the bushes and trees in its way, seized the branches and roots, and devoured all before it with a prodigious crackling, and noise, and with a thick smoke; leaving the ground black, and the stones hot. We were much alarmed, as a general conflagration of the country seemed likely to ensue. The Turks with their sabres cut down

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boughs, and we all began buffetting the flames, which were at length subdued; the ruins somewhat retarding their progress, and enabling us to combat them more effectually. The struggle lasted above an hour, and a considerable tract of ground was laid waste. Close by was an area with dry matted grass, where no exertion could have delayed the fire, but in a moment it would have acquired the mastery, and must have ravaged uncontrolled, until repelled by the wind. The janizary signalized his prowess in this engagement. The sun shone exceedingly hot, and we were all covered with smoke and smut.

In the evening we returned to the vineyard, and found our cook, with two or three of the Turks, busy in a hovel, roasting a kid on a wooden spit or stake. We sate down with our Jew and janizary, and the flesh proved excellent. Our table was a mat on the ground, beneath a spreading vine. Our men formed a like group at a little distance from us. Soon after we fell asleep, and the starry heaven was our canopy.

Early in the morning the ass was loaded again. We passed the day at the ruins, with some discontent from keen appetites, not duly gratified. The wine and provisions, which we expected from Tenedos, did not arrive in time; and the peasant, whom we had sent to a village named Chemali, could procure only a couple of fowls, with some eggs, which he broke in bringing. This accident compelled our Jews to fast, their law not permitting them to eat of what we had, and which supplied us with a very scanty meal.

After completing our survey as well as the prudent caution of our Jew and Turks would permit, we returned to the vineyard, where we now found the owner, a man with a venerable beard. We conversed with him, our Jew serving us as

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an interpreter. He was a stone-cutter, and shewed us a pestle and mortar as specimens of his abilities; with a mutilated head of a female statue; a piece of load-stone, and a parcel of ordinary copper coins, among which was a small medal of the emperor Trajan, with a horse feeding on the reverse, the legend COL. AVG. and on the exergue TR . A or *Colonia Augusta Troas*. He had also a stone of a ring, of a red colour, inscribed ΔH MHTPI ◊Y *of Demetrius;* and a brown one, with a lion tearing a bull.

Both our jew and janizary had expressed more than once a diffidence of our safety. Our fire arms had been all regularly inspected; and this evening in particular our men betrayed plain symptoms of uneasiness and apprehension, which we imputed to some intelligence of banditti not remote from us, given them by our new companion.

CHAP. XI.

Invited to Chemali—We set out on foot—The hot-baths—Arrive at Chemali—Remains of antiquity—Once Colonæ.

WHEN we lay by the sea-side, we had observed a fire blazing on an eminence before us, or toward Lectos. We were told, it was a signal for a boat designed to be laden clandestinely with corn, the exportation of which is prohibited under severe penalties. One of the men had approached and viewed us with a degree of attention, which we disliked; the people of this district bearing a very bad character. At midnight the

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aga of Chemali, who was concerned in this contraband business, had come prancing along the shore with two Turks, armed, on long-tailed horses, to inquire who we were. The janizary entertained him apart by the fire with a pipe and coffee, after which he mounted and gallopped back, leaving us an invitation to see an old building at his village. Our host informed us, that by the way were hot baths worthy our notice, and that Chemali was distant about two hours. This mode of computing by time prevails universally in these countries, and is taken from the caravans, which move an uniform pace, about three or four miles in an hour.

In the morning after breakfasting on grapes, figs, white honey in the comb, and coffee, we set out in a body for the village, a Turk or two remaining with the boat, and our janizary, whose right eye was inflamed, at the vineyard. We entered a narrow track worn by camels, the sand deep and loose; and saw several of these animals single, lying down, feeding with their burthens on their backs, or moving pensively in a long train, the leader mounted on a low ass; and also a flock of goats, and a few sheep and oxen. We came to a river, which winds from the deep valley behind Troas, and has been mentioned before. The stream here was now shallow, but abounding in small fish. It had overflowed nearer the sea, and formed a little marsh.

The hot spring rises in the slope of the hill of Troas, about four miles from the shore; its bearing 30°. south of west. The bed resembles rusty iron in colour, and the edges were incrusted with white salt. After running a few paces, it enters a basin about nine feet square, within a mean hovel roofed with boughs. This is the bath appropriated to women. In a gully there, Farenheit's thermometer rose to one hundred and

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thirteen. The current passing from hence, unseen, is admitted by channels into another basin. In this the thermometer rose to one hundred and ten; and in two small veins to one hundred and thirty, and forty two. It was before in the air and shade at eighty two. The water has the colour of whey; the taste is brackish; and this quality it communicates to the river below. We supposed it to be strongly impregnated with iron ore. One of the basins was choked up in 1610; and not long ago, we were told, the spring had entirely disappeared, for nine years, after an earthquake. It is reckoned very efficacious in the rheumatism, the leprosy, and all cutaneous disorders. They first scour the skin by rolling in the bed of the river, which is, a fine sand, and full of holes or cavities, like graves, made for the body. By each inclosure is a shed, where they sleep after bathing. In the court-wall of one is inserted the trunk of a large statue; and higher on the hill are the ruins and vestiges of the ancient sepulchres of Troas.

We crossed the river again, and in fifteen minutes entered among the roots of Mount Ida, which hitherto had been on our right hand, but now faced us. We had an extensive view of the country, and from one summit the pike of Tenedos bore 30^{m} west of north. The tops of the mountain are innumerable. New ones arose continually before us, as we advanced; and low oaks and bushes are interspersed among the vast naked rocks. Coming near Chemali we saw several windmills; Turkey wheat standing; and, on the slopes of the hills, a few vineyards. The men were at work abroad, but the doorways of the clay-cottages were filled with women, their faces muffled, and with children looking at us. Our men purchased of them some melons, with eggs, which they fried in oil.

The mosque, which we had taken this long walk to examine,

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instead of proving, as we had hoped, some ancient building or temple, contained nothing to reward our labour. The portico, under which we stopped, is supported by broken columns, and in the walls are marble fragments. The door is carved with Greek characters so exceedingly complicated that I could neither copy nor decipher them. We supposed it had formerly been a church. In the court was a plain chair of marble, almost entire; and under the post of a shed, a pedestal, with a moulding cut along one side, and an inscription in Latin, which shews it once belonged to a statue of Nero, nephew of the emperor Tiberius.* Many scraps of Greek and Latin occur in the old burying grounds, which are very extensive. We saw more marble about this inconsiderable village, than at Troas.

Colonæ, *The Hills*, was a town on the continent opposite to Tenedos. Antigonus removed the inhabitants to Troas, but the place was not entirely abandoned. It seems to have recovered under the Romans, and has survived the new city; still, as may be collected from the site and marbles, lingering on in the Turkish village Chemali.

CHAP. XII.

Coast by Troas—Enekioi—Giaurkioi or Sigéum—Antiquities at the church—Account of Sigéum—The famous Sigéan stone part of a pilaster—The disposition of the lines on it—Of the Greek alphabet—Age of the first inscription—Age of the second—It lies neglected.

From Chemali we returned to the vineyard, purposing to embark as soon as possible; the danger from banditti increas-

* Inscript. Ant. p. 4.

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ing with our stay in these parts, which had already produced a general uneasiness; but finding the wind strong and contrary, we went back to the hot baths with our thermometer. In the mean time, the aga of Chemali sent word, that he designed visiting us in the evening, and desired our acceptance of a kid. His men, however, had carried off the intended present, on hearing from the janizary that we were going away. We were glad to avoid seeing him, as we expected he would prove but a troublesome guest. We hastened to get on board, coasted by Troas in the dusk; and, after rowing about five miles, landed and slept on the beach. The solemn night was rendered yet more awful by the melancholy howlings of numerous jackalls, in packs, hunting, as we supposed, their prey.

We embarked again three hours before the break of day, and rowed by a rocky shore until near seven. We then landed at Enekioi, or *New Town*, now a Greek village, so miserable, as scarcely to furnish grapes, wine, eggs, and oil to fry them, sufficient for our breakfast. It stands very high, and has been more considerable. By the church door is a Latin sepulchral inscription,* and Pliny mentions a town in the Troad, called Nea, or *New Town*, which perhaps was on this spot. There was an image of Minerva, on which no rain ever fell; and it was said that sacrifices left there did not putrify.

We left Enekioi, and landed again about mid-day on the beach without the Hellespont, not far from the Sigéan promontory, and ascending by a steep track to Giaurkioi, a Greek village, once the city Sigéum, high above the sea, and now resembling Enekioi in wretchedness as well as in situation. We were here accommodated with a small apartment in one of the

* Inscript. Ant. p. 4.

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cottages, but it required caution to avoid falling through the floor. The family, to which it belonged, was as poor as oppressed. The thin-voiced women scolding and howling in the court, we inquired the reason, and were told, they had paid a piaster for the privilege of keeping a hog; that the Turk, who collected this money for the aga, demanded ten pereaus as his fee, that they were unable or unwilling to gratify him, and he was carrying the son to prison.

The high hill of Giaurkioi was the acropolis or citadel of Sigéum; and a mean church on the brow, toward Mount Ida, occupies the site of the Athenéum or temple of Minerva; of which the scattered marbles by it are remains. The famous Sigéan inscription lies on the right hand, as you enter it; and on the left is part of a pedestal, of fine white marble; each serving as a seat. The latter is carved in basso relievo.* The Greeks were accustomed to consign their infants to the tutular care of some deity; the midwife, dressed in white with her feet bare, carrying the child to be presented on the fifth day after its birth. The Romans had the same superstition, and Caligula is on record as having placed his daughter, Livia Drusilla, in the lap of Minerva.† That usage is the subject of the sculpture. The goddess is sitting, as described by Homer, in her temple in Troy. A little chest, borne by one of the figures, may be supposed to contain incense, or the offerings which accompanied this ceremony. A marble, once reposited in the precincts of the temple, and now preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, was found within the same building. It contains a decree, made by the Sigéans, two hundred

* It is about five feet nine inches long. See Lady Mary W. Montague. Letter XLIV. and a plate in the *Ionian Antiquities*.

† Suetonius c. 25.

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and seventy-eight years before the Christian æra, in honour of king Antiochus; and enacts, among other articles, the erecting in the temple a golden statue of him on horseback, on a pedestal of white marble; with an inscription commemorating his religious regard for the temple, and stiling him the saviour of the people. This in the year 1718 was purchased of the Papas, or Greek priest, by Edward Wortley Montague Esq. then going ambassador to Constantinople.* The place in the wall, from which it was removed, is still visible.

The city Sigéum stood on a slope, now bare, opposite to the part where we ascended. It was founded by the Mitylenéans of Lesbos. The Athenians seized it under Phryno. Pittacus sailed after him, and was defeated in a battle. It was then the poet Alcæus fled, throwing away his shield, which the Athenians suspended in the temple. Periander of Corinth was chosen umpire. The Mitylenéans afterwards recovered Sigéum, but it was taken from them by Pisistratus, who made his son Hegesistratus tyrant there. The Iliéans then got possession of it, and by them it was subverted, perhaps about the time of Antiochus, as the name of the Sigéan people has been purposely erased in the decree above mentioned.

The temple at Sigéum was of remote antiquity, if not coeval with the city, which is said to have been built from the ruins of Troy. The Iliéans probably spared that edifice from a reverence for the deity, or no fragments would now have remained. The celebrated inscription is on part of a pilaster, eight feet seven inches long; one foot and something more than six inches wide, and above ten inches thick. It is broken at the bottom. In the top is a hole three inches and a half

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* Chishull Antiq. Asiat. p. 49.

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long, three wide, and above two deep. This served to unite it firmly with the upper portion, or the capital, by receiving a bar of wood or metal; a customary mode of construction, which rendered the fabric as solid as the materials were durable. The stone was given to the temple, as appears from the inscription on it, by Phanodicus of Proconnesus, a city and island not far from Sigéum, famous for its quarries of marble. Such donations were common, and we shall have occasion to mention several.

The lines in both inscriptions range from the left to the right, and from the right to the left, alternately. This mode of disposition was called *Boustrophédon*, the lines turning on the marble as oxen do in ploughing. It was used before Periander; and by Solon, the Athenian lawgiver, his contemporary.

The Greek alphabet, as imported by Cadmus from Phœnicia,* consisted of sixteen letters. Palamedes, the rival of Ulysses, who was put to death in the Greek camp before Troy, added four. Simonides of Ceos increased the number to twenty-four. This person was a favourite of Hipparchus, brother of Hegisistratus, the tyrant of Segéum, and lived with him at Athens.

We may infer from the first inscription on the pilaster that Phanodicus and the temple, to which he contributed, existed before the improvement made by Simonides, for it exhibits only Cadméan and Palamedéan characters: and, also that the structure was raised under the Mitylenéans; for it is in their dialect or the Æolian.

The second inscription has the letters of Simonides, and was engraved under the Athenians, as may be collected from its

* See Chishull's learned commentary.

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Atticisms; and, it is likely, about the time of Hegesistratus; the method of arranging the lines not being changed, nor the memory of the person, whom it records, if he were not then living, become obsolete.

We copied these inscriptions very carefully,* and not without deep regret, that a stone, so singularly curious, which has preserved to us a specimen of writing antiquated above two thousand years ago, should be suffered to lie so neglected and exposed. Above half a century has elapsed, since it was first discovered, and it still remains, in the open air, a seat for the Greeks, destitute of a patron to rescue it from barbarism, and obtain its removal into the safer custody of some private museum, or, which is rather to be desired, some public repository.†

CHAP. XIII.

At Giaurkioi—Prospect of the plain—Farther account of it—News of the consul—Our plan disconcerted—The evening—Barrows of Achilles, &c.—At Chomkali.

It was Saturday when we arrived at Giaurkioi, and our Jews were prohibited, by their law, from going out of the vil-

* Inscript. Ant. pl. 1.

† It is to be wished that a premium were offered, and the undertaking recommended to commanders of ships in the Levant trade. They have commonly interpreters to negociate for them, with men, leavers, ropes, and the other requisites; besides instruments or tools, by which the stone might be broken, if necessary. By a proper application of all-prevailing gold, it is to be believed they might gain the permission or connivance of the papas and persons concerned. It should be done with secrecy. The experiment is easily made, when they are at Tenedos, or wind-bound near the mouth of the Hellespont.

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lage. Our janizary had bound over his eye, which was much inflamed, a piece of empty honey-comb, and the yolk of a boiled egg, but neither receipe had relieved his torture. Our mariners, except one or two, were employed in rowing the boat to Chomkali, the town by the Asiatic castle; the place, where we had landed, being exposed to winds, and insecure from the force and rapidity of the current. Some Turks of Chomkali visited our companions. Their conversation, as was evident, turned on us, our dress, manners, and pursuits, which must have appeared to them strange and unaccountable. They were fond of hearing us repeat the words of their language, which we had learned, and called for this display of our talents so often, that we began to think them troublesome and impertinent.

From the brow by the church we had in view several barrows, and a large cultivated plain, parched, and of a russet colour, excepting some plantations of cotton. On it were flocks of sheep and of goats; oxen unmuzzled treading out corn; droves of cattle and horses, some feeding, others rolling in the wide bed, which receives the Scamander and Simois united. Near the mouth was lively verdure, with trees; and, on the same side as Sigéum, the castle and Chomkali. By the water many women were employed, their faces muffled, washing linen, or spreading it to dry; with children playing on the banks. It is proper here to inform the reader, that Ilium or *New Troy*, stood above the junction of the two streams; and that the Simois, which has been mistaken for the Scamander, was the river next Sigéum and Cape Baba or Lectos.

When the heat of noon had subsided, a moor or black, who was known to our janizary, with one of our Turks, armed, was ready to attend us. We descended from the church into the

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plain, and crossing the river above the women, to avoid giving offence, walked about two hours up into the country. We saw in this ramble some villages consisting of a few huts; and were worried more than once by the dogs, which are kept to guard the flocks and herds from wild beasts. They were very fierce, and not easily repelled by our mussulmen. The ground, in many places, appeared to have been swampy, and had channels in it worn by floods and torrents. The Turkey wheat standing in the fields had the ears turned yellow, and seemed ripe. Pieces of marble and broken columns lay scattered about. The bed of the river was very wide, the banks steep, with thickets of tamarisk growing in it. We saw small fish in the water, and on the margin found a live tortoise, the first I had seen. I passed the stream several times without being wet-shod. We had advanced in sight of some barrows, which are beyond the Scamander, and of a large conical hill, more remote, at the foot of Mount Ida, anciently called Calicollone, when the sun declining apace, to my great regret, we were obliged to go back.

A rumour had prevailed that the consul, after parting from us at Tenedos, had been attacked by robbers in his way to Gallipoli. At our return to the village we found this intelligence confirmed, and our Jews in affliction. He had gone with company in a boat from the Dardanell. They landed to dine, as usual, ashore; when the banditti rushed suddenly down upon them, and soon overcame them. The consul, as we were told, ran into the water up to his chin, where they still fired at him, and he was much hurt.

We had purposed tarrying a few days at Giaurkioi, and after recovering from our late fatigue, to traverse and examine the plain minutely; and to penetrate to the sources of the Si-

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mois and Scamander in the recesses of Mount Ida; but now we had danger to apprehend from the desperate parties ranging about the country: our conductor was desirous to get back without delay to the distressed family of his brother, where his presence was required, and the indisposition of our janizary, which increased, made our compliance with his wishes as necessary as it was reasonable.

Our cottage was not far from the brow of the hill, on which the church stands, and we repaired thither to enjoy again, before sun-set, the delightful prospect. A long train of low carriages, resembling ancient cars, was then coming as it were in procession from Mount Ida. Each was wreathed round with wicker work, had two wheels, and conveyed a nodding load of green wood, which was drawn through the dusty plain by yoked oxen or buffaloes, with a slow and solemn pace, and with an ugly screaking noise.

Early in the morning we descended the slope, on which Sigéum stood, going to our boat, which waited at Chomkali, distant about half an hour from Giaurkioi by land. After walking eight minutes, we came between two barrows, standing each in a vineyard or inclosure. One was that of Achilles and Patroclus; the other, which was on our right hand, that of Antilochus, son of Nestor. This had a fragment or two of white marble on the top, which I ascended; as had also another on our right hand, not far off, which, if I mistake not, was that of Peneleus, one of the leaders of the Bœotians, who was slain by Eurypylus. We had likewise in view the barrow of Ajax Telamon; and at a distance from it on the side next Eectos, that of Æsyetes, mentioned in Homer. From thence the road was between vineyards, cotton-fields, pomegranate, and fig-trees; the verdure and freshness about the mouth of the river

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contrasted with the parched naked plain surrounding it, and was as agreeable as striking.

The town of Chomkali appeared to advantage after the wretched places, in which we had lately been; but is mean, and not large. We tarried there at a coffee-house, while our men purchased the necessary provisions. We saw in the street two capitals of columns excavated, and serving as mortars to bruise wheat in. The water-cisterns are sarcophagi or ancient coffins, with vents. On one was a Greek inscription, not legible; the stone rough. All these have been removed from adjacent ruins; for even the site of Chomkali and its castle is of modern origin.

CHAP. XIV.

Land in the Chersonese—A panegyris, or general assembly of Greeks—Their musicians—Their church—Arrive at the inner castle—Character of our Turks.

We had intended to return by the coast of Asia, hoping it might afford us something worthy observation; but, when we came to the wherry, the rais or master refused, preferring the European side of the Hellespont, because, as he urged, the stream there is less violent. This point being settled, not much to our satisfaction, we were rowed over to the Chersonese, where we landed above Eleûs, within a point nearly parallel to Mastusia, and its castle, and at the mouth of the hollow bay Cœlos, which lies between them, and has been mentioned before. We could discern some buildings among trees at the bottom of the bay, with piers of an aqueduct; and on the rock near us were vestiges of a fortress.

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We had not been long on shore, before our attention was engaged by the appearance of many boats, on the Hellespont, steering towards us, and full of people. The passengers landing, as they arrived, ascended a ridge near us in a long train, men and boys, women with infants, and persons decrepit from age. On enquiry, we were informed, that this was a great holiday among the Greeks, none of whom would be absent from the panegyris or *General Assembly*. The Feast of Venus and Adonis by Sestos did not occasion a more complete desertion of the villages and towns, on both sides the Hellespont, when Leander of Abydos first beheld, and became enamoured with his mistress Hero.

It is the custom of the Greeks, on these days, after fulfilling their religious duties, to indulge in festivity. Two of their musicians, seeing us sitting under a shady tree, where we had dined, came and played before us, while some of our Turks danced. One of their instruments resembled a common tabour, but was larger and thicker. It was sounded with two sticks, the performer beating it with a slender one underneath, and at the same time with a bigger, which had a round knob at the end, on the top. This was accompanied by a pipe with a reed for the mouth-piece, and below it a circular rim of wood, against which the lips of the player came. His cheeks were much inflated, and the notes so various, shrill, and disagreeable, as to remind me of a famous composition designed for the ancient Aulos or flute, as was fabled by Minerva.* It was an imitation of the squalling and wailing, made by the serpent-haired Gorgons, when Perseus maimed the triple sisterhood, by severing from their common body the head of Medusa.

* See Pindar. *ib.*

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Our Turks and the musicians, when tired, expected, as usual, bac-shish, or a present. After satisfying them, we went up to the place, at which the Greeks were assembled. It was about a quarter of a mile from the shore by a church of the *Panagia*, or Virgin Mary, for so they called some walls of stones piled, without a roof, and stuck, on this solemnity, with wax-candles lighted, and with small tapers. Close by was an aperture in the surface of the ground, with a spring running under the rock. This cavity, at which a portrait hung of the Virgin, painted on wood, was also illuminated; and some priests, who took money of those, who came for water, were preparing to perform mass near it. We were told it was a place of great sanctity. The multitude was sitting under half-tents, with store of melons and grapes, beside lambs and sheep to be killed, wine in gourds and skins, and other necessary provisions.

We left this lively scene, with some regret, and re-coasting the rough European shore, landed not far from the town and castle, on a spot which we found was a favourite place of resort, being noted for its verdure and shade, and for cool water; each a source of pleasure, and as refreshing as grateful in climates of a warm temperature. Here a fire was presently kindled, and coffee made, and the whole company seemed to experience much self-enjoyment. We then returned on board, and our men tugged against the stream, until we were considerably above the two castles and their towns, when the tide set us over, and we landed in Asia, on the beach, from which we had embarked on our expedition.

On quitting the boat, we took leave of our mussulmen, upon the whole well satisfied with their attention and civility. The Rais was an obstinate hairy savage, as rough in figure as a

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bear. In their disputes some had displayed great ferocity, drawing their sabres and threatening; but some were of far gentler manners. They were all temperate in their diet; cheerfully sating their hunger with fruits, hard coarse bread, salt cheese, or sour curds called *Caimac;* and contentedly quenching their thirst with water. Our janizary, Baructer-Aga, often requested we would speak well of him and his nation in England. He was tall, and polished in person and dress, and an excellent singer. Our Turks respected him, and he quelled their animosities, interposing with authority. He was exact, and regular in performing the customary ablutions, and failed not to rehearse his prayers at the stated times, then spreading his cloak on the ground, prostrating his body, and touching it with his forehead; or standing in a suppliant posture, with his hands composed, deeply intent on his duty, and to appearance, equally devout and humble.

CHAP. XV.

Our embarrassment—Arrival of an English ship—Its destination—We embark for Scio—Quick passage.

THE banditti, who infested these parts, were represented to us as numerous and cruel. We were assured, that in our late excursion, we had been fortunate, rather than prudent; danger was now apparent, and to curiosity we must add caution. The consul had been attacked going to Gallipoli, about two hours from home. We had been told of ruins, which we supposed to be remains of Abydos, on that side; but were warned not to venture that way by his recent peril. We had

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room to apprehend, that we might encounter some flying or lurking parties, and be intercepted or cut off, if we took the contrary direction, and, as had been proposed, set out on horseback to explore the region between the Scamander and Simois. We were much perplexed by our situation, and unable to determine how to proceed.

Night coming on, the recollection of our past sufferings here made us desire to sleep in another house; but the evil we wished to avoid was not peculiar to that of the consul, and we had reason to long for the sea-shore or our vineyard again. The wind in the morning proved high, but we were too impatient, under present grievances, to tarry at this place, and resolved to get to Chomkali, the town we had lately left, and to pass on by sea to Smyrna. It remained only to purchase provisions, with utensils for cooking, and other necessaries for the voyage, and to engage a boat, with proper servants and an interpreter; when a messenger from the beach announced the arrival of a ship with English colours.

We had scarcely time to congratulate each other, on this unexpected news, before the captain, whose name was Jolly, entered the room. He informed us that he had sailed with his ship the Delawar, not many hours since, from Gallipoli, where the Anglicana had entered not long before; that he was come to an anchor in the road, all vessels from Constantinople stopping there, to be searched for contraband goods or fugitive slaves; that he was bound for Cyprus and England, but should touch at Scio, from whence we might easily get to Smyrna.

We were now relieved from our embarrassment. In the afternoon we took leave of our late companion, and the Jewish family, and embarked on board the Delawar. We were followed by a stately well-dressed Turk in a boat. The captain

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while the hold was examined, entertained him and some of his officers in the cabin, with pipes, coffee, and sherbet. When this ceremony was ended, we set sail with the wind fresh and fair. The pike of Tenedos appeared over the main-land of Asia. We soon cleared the Hellespont, and passing by the mouth of the Scamander, had a farewell view of a part of the Troad, which deserves to be carefully traversed; which I quitted with all the reluctance of inflamed curiosity; and which I then hoped we might be able to revisit with better fortune from Smyrna.

The satisfaction we derived from the sudden change of our situation for the better, received great addition from the liberal behaviour of our new captain, by whom we were elegantly entertained, and after supper accommodated with clean bedding, on the cabin-floor, which afforded us much refreshment. The prosperous gale continued, and the ship made great way.

We sailed by the western side of the island Mitylene in the night; and passing the mouth of the gulph of Smyrna, entered the channel of Scio, and before mid-day cast anchor in the road off the city.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Scio—Its modern history—Reduced by the Turks—The town—Greek women—Number of dogs—Manner of bathing—The Consul, &c.—Parties—The wines—The lentiscus or mastic tree—The Antiquities—The temple of Cybele.

The island Chios, now Scio, is by Strabo reckoned nine hundred stadia, or one hundred and twelve miles and a half, in circuit; and about four hundred stadia, or fifty miles, from

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the island Mitylene. The principal mountain, called anciently Pelinæus, presents to view a long, lofty range of bare rock, reflecting the sun; but the recesses at its feet are diligently cultivated, and reward the husbandman by their rich produce. The slopes are clothed with vines. The groves of lemon, orange, and citron-trees, regularly planted, at once perfume the air with the odour of their blossoms, and delight the eye with their golden fruit. Myrtles, and jassmines are interspersed, with olive and palm trees, and cypresses. Amid these the tall minarets rise, and white houses glitter, dazzling the beholder.

Scio shared in the calamities, which attended the destruction of the Greek empire.* In the year 1093, when robbers and pirates were in possession of several considerable places, Tzachas, a Turkish malcontent, took the city. The Greek admiral, endeavouring to reduce it for the emperor Alexis, made a breach in the wall; and he came to its relief from Smyrna with a fleet and eight thousand men, but soon after abandoned it in the night. In 1306 this was one of the islands, which suffered from the exactions of the Grand Duke Roger, general of the Roman armies. The city was then seized by the Turks, who came before it with thirty ships, and put the inhabitants to the sword. In 1346 it was taken by some galleys, fitted out by thirty noble Genoese. A fleet of sixty vessels was sent by the Sultan in 1394 to burn it, and the towns adjacent, and to ravage the islands and sea-coast. The city purchased peace from Mahomet the second in 1455; giving a sum of money, and agreeing to pay tribute yearly. Scio experienced evil, but if it be compared with the sufferings of some other places, in these times of rapine and violence, fortune

* See Modern Universal History.

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will seem to have concurred with the partiality of nature, and to have distinguished this as a favourite island.

The Genoese continued in possession of Scio, about two hundred and forty years. They were deprived of it in 1566, during the siege of Malta, by the Turkish admiral, who garrisoned it for Sultan Solyman; but the Chiotes, in general, were still indulged with numerous and extraordinary privileges. They consisted of two parties, differing in their religious tenets; one of the Greek persuasion, which acknowledges the patriarch of Constantinople as their head; the other of the Latin or papists which enjoyed a free toleration under the Turks, their priests celebrating mass as in Christendom, bearing the sacraments to the sick, going in solemn procession, habited, beneath canopies, with censers in their hands, to the year 1694. The Venetians then attacked and took the castle, but abandoned it on a defeat of their fleet near the Spalmadore islands, which lie in the channel between Scio and the continent. The Latins who had assisted them, dreaded the punishment, which their ingratitude deserved; and the prime families, with the bishop, fled and settled in the Morea, which had been recently conquered by the Venetians. The Turks seized the churches, abolished the Genoese dress, and imposed on their vassals badges of their subjection; obliging them, among other articles, to alight from their horses at the city-gate, and at the approach of any, even of the meanest mussulman.

The town of Scio* and its vicinity resembles, from the sea, Genoa and its territory, as it were in miniature. The ancient city had a good port, and stations for eighty ships. The present, which occupies its site, beneath Pelinæus, is large, well

* See Views. Le Brun, p. 168.

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built and populous. A naked hill rises above it, with a house or two on the summit, where was the acropolis or citadel of the Greeks, and afterwards of the Genoese. We found men at work there, digging up the old foundations for the materials. The port has an ordinary or ruinous mole, like that of Tenedos, almost level with the water. The mouth is narrow, and beset with lurking rocks and shoals. It was about noon when we landed. We went to the house of the English consul, who was in the country. A Greek, called Antonio, his servant, and the dragoman or interpreter belonging to the captain, who was with us, procured some fowls, and eggs, with wine and fruit, for our dinner. In the evening we walked over the town, which appeared to us as a collection of petty palaces, after the hovels of mud we had lately seen on the continent.

The beautiful Greek girls are the most striking ornaments of Scio. Many of these were sitting at the doors and windows, twisting cotton or silk, or employed in spinning and needle-work, and accosted us with familiarity, bidding us welcome, as we passed. The streets on Sundays and holidays are filled with them in groups. They wear short petticoats reaching only to their knees, with white silk or cotton hose. Their head-dress, which is peculiar to the island, is a kind of Turban, the linen so white and thin it seemed snow. Their slippers are chiefly yellow, with a knot of red fringe at the heel. Some wore them fastened with a thong. Their garments were of silk of various colours; and their whole appearance so fantastic and lively, as to afford us much entertainment. The Turks inhabit a separate quarter, and their women are concealed.

We returned to the ship at night, the dragoman and Chiote lighting us with long paper lanthorns to the boat, which waited

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at the beach. A great number of gaunt dogs were collected by the shambles, which are at the out-skirt of the town. They barked furiously at us, but were chid and repelled by our guides, whose language they understood. The public, we were told, maintains them; and they assemble, when all is quiet. These animals, it is observable, were of old a like nuisance. They seem the Lemures of the ancients, who used to pacify them with food. The Arcadians, in particular, were accustomed to carry bread from their table on account of the nightly terrors, or the dogs, which they expected to assail them in the streets.*

The next morning we were set on shore again. I accompanied Captain Jolly to the principal Bagnio or public bathing-place, a very noble edifice, with ample domes, all of marble; and shall attempt to give an account of the mode of bathing. We undressed in a large square room, where linen is hung to dry, and the keeper attends with his servants. We had each a long towel given us to wrap round our middle, and a pair of tall wooden pattens to walk in. We were led through a warm narrow passage into the inner room, which is yet more spacious, and made very hot by stoves, which are concealed. In this was a water-bath, and recesses, with partitions on the sides. The pavement in the centre under the dome was raised, and covered with linen cloths, on which we were bid to lie down. We were soon covered with big drops of sweat, and two men naked, except the waist, then entered, and began kneading our flesh; tracing all the muscles and cleansing the pores. By the time they had finished, our joints were sufficiently suppled, and they commenced the formidable

* See note, Vitruvius, l. 6. c. 5.

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operation of snapping all of them, not only the toes, ancles, knees, fingers, and the like, but the vertebræ of the back, and the breast; one while wrenching our necks; then turning us on our bellies, crossing our arms behind us, and placing their right knee between our shoulders. The feats they perform cannot easily be described, and are hardly credible. When this was over, we were rubbed with a mohair-bag fitted to the hand, which, like the ancient strigil, brings away the gross matter perspired. We were then led each to a recess, supplied by pipes with hot and cold water, which we tempered to our liking. The men returned with soap-lather and tow in a wooden bowl, with which they cleaned the skin, and then poured a large quantity of warm water on our heads. Our spirits were quite exhausted, when they covered us with dry cloths and led us back to the first room, where beds were ready for us. On waking after a gentle slumber, we were presented each with a lighted pipe and a dish of coffee. We rose much refreshed, and as the ladies of the Aga or Turkish governor were expected there, hastened away. The common Turks and Greeks pay a very small gratuity for the use of the bath, which they frequent once a week or oftener. I have sometimes been regaled, while in the inner room, with ripe fruits and sherbet, and with incense burning to scent the air. One of my companions repeatedly partook with me in this innocent and wholesome luxury at Smyrna and at Athens.

On our return from the bath we found the consul at home. He was a spare shrewd Greek, a direct contrast to the fat, open, hospitable Jew our host at the Dardanell. He presented us with pomegranates of a particular species, for which the island is noted. The kernels are free from stones. It is usual

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to bring them to table in a plate, sprinkled with rose water. These are excellent fruit, but accounted astringent. An English gentlemen named Bracebridge had come with the consul to visit us. He was an elderly person, and had been absent some years from his native country, for the benefit of a warmer climate. After much wandering, he gave the preference to this island above any of the places which he had tried. Our captain, who took leave of us at night, intending to sail in the morning, was detained some time longer by foul weather.

We soon found that the old religious parties still subsist with unextinguished animosity, each sect cherishing insuperable hatred, and intriguing to ruin its adversary. We saw the Latins at their worship in the chapel of the vice-consul of the French nation, which was very neat, well filled, especially with women, and handsomely illuminated. The English consul, who served some other European powers, was much haunted by priests of that church, and had a patent of knighthood from the pope. The wines of Scio have been celebrated as aiding digestion, as nutritive and pleasant. They were much esteemed by the Romans. Hortensius hoarded them; and Cæsar, who was as generous as magnificent, dispensed them freely to the people at his triumphs and sacrifices. It is related, that the culture of the vine was introduced by a son of Bacchus, called Œnopion, or *The Wine-Drinker*, whose sepulchre remained here in the second century; and that red-wine, with the method of making these liquors, was invented by the Chians. A rugged tract, named Arvisia, was particularly famous for its produce, which has been extolled as ambrosial, and styled a new nectar. Mr. Bracebridge, whom we visited at his house near the town, treated us with a variety of choice specimens; and it may

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be questioned, if either the flavour or qualities, once so commended, be at all impaired. In several we found the former truly admirable.

To the peculiar possession of the Arvisian vine, now no longer talked of, has succeeded the profitable culture of the Lentiscus or mastic-tree. This employs, as we were told, twenty one villages, which are required to provide as many thousand okes† of gum annually, for the use of the seraglio at Constantinople. They procure it by boring the trunks with a shall sharp iron, in the summer months. In October their harvest is conveyed with music into the city, and lodged in the castle. The cadi and officers, who attend, while it is weighed, have each a certain portion for their perquisite. The remainder is delivered to the farmer or planter, to be disposed of for his own advantage. The Greeks of these villages have a separate governor, and enjoy many privileges. In particular, they are allowed to wear a turban of white linen, and their churches have each a bell to call them to prayers, an indulgence of which they speak with much glee. The Asiatic ladies are excessively fond of this gum, which they chew greedily, believing it good for the breath, and attributing to it various other excellent properties.

Prosperity is less friendly to antiquity than desertion and depopulation. We saw no stadium, theatre, or odèum; but so illustrious a city, with a marble quarry near it, could not be destitute of those necessary structures, and perhaps some traces might be discovered about the hill, on which the citadel stood. A few bass-reliefs and marbles are fixed in the

† An oke is a Turkish weight of about two pounds three quarters *avoir-depois*.

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walls, and over the gate-ways of the houses.† We found by the sea-side, near the town, three stones with inscriptions, which had been brought for ballast from the continent of Asia. The Chiote, our attendant, was vociferous in his enquiries, but to little purpose. We were more than once desired to look at a Genoese coat of arms for a piece of ancient sculpture; and a date in modern Greek for an old inscription.

The most curious remain is that which has been named, without reason, *The School of Homer*. It is on the coast at some distance from the city, northward, and appears to have been an open temple of Cybele, formed on the top of a rock. The shape is oval, and in the centre is the image of the goddess, the head and an arm wanting. She is represented, as usual, sitting. The chair has a lion carved on each side,* and on the back. The area is bounded by a low rim or seat, and about five yards over. The whole is hewn out of the mountain, is rude, indistinct, and probably of the most remote antiquity. From the slope higher up is a fine view of the rich vale of Scio, and of the channel, with its shining islands, beyond which are the mountains on the main-land of Asia.

* Inscript. Ant. p. 4.

† Pococke has metamorphosed the goddess and the two lions on the sides of the chair, into Homer and a couple of the Muses. The three figures, instead of certain parts only, were, I should suppose, *supplied by the fancy of the drawer*. The reader may have a much better idea of the original from a relief among the Oxford Marbles, n. cxv. The image, it is likely, held in the hand, which is missing, either a patera, or tympanum. See n. cxiii. cxiv.

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CHAP. XVII.

Set sail from Scio—Moor in a creek—Weather Cape Karabornu—The Inbat—View of Smyrna from the sea—The Frank street—The Consul's house—Live cameleons.

THE inconveniences, under which we had laboured for some time, rendered us impatient to get as fast as possible to Smyrna. We had been advised not to carry servants with us from England, and had made our way thus far alone. Besides the want of proper attendants, we were without our bedding, which, in our hurry at quitting the Anglicana, had been left on the quarter-deck The weather was unfavourable to our departure from Scio. Thick clouds covered the mountains, and the southerly wind called Sirocco, prevailed. It thundered very much, with lightning, and rained hard in the night. We had hired a boat manned with Greeks, and our baggage was carried to the custom house to be inspected, but it blew so violently, we were advised not to go on board. The next day the wind still continued high and contrary; but, as it seemed not likely to change, and our boat was stout, we resolved to venture, and accordingly about noon embarked with a rough sea.

Leaving the mole of Scio, we buffetted the waves across to the continent, where we took in more ballast. We then stood to and fro the whole afternoon, but made little way. Our boat carried a large unhandy sail, which, when we tacked about, did not readily clear, and once we barely escaped being overset. In the evening we entered a small creek, and moored

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by two other vessels. In the rock close by, were caverns black with smoke. These afford shelter to mariners and fishermen, in dark nights and tempestuous weather, when the sea is not navigable. We landed very wet from the salt spray, and half-starved with hunger. We had endeavoured, when we stopped before, to make the crew understand, that our keen appetites required present gratification, but did not succeed. Some of them now made a fire on shore, and boiled the fowls, which we had provided. We supped in a manner sufficiently disgusting, and retired to the boat, where the fresh ballast was our bed.

We were under sail again as soon as the morning dawned; plying between mount Mimas on the continent and the Spalmadore islands, called anciently Œnussæ. They belonged to the Chians, who had refused to sell them to the Phocéans. About two we weathered the southern promontory of the gulf of Smyrna, formerly called Acra Melæna, or *Black point*. The Turkish name, which now prevails, signifies nearly the same. It is Kara-bournu, or *Black Nose*.

Smyrna is situated in the latitude of 38^{d}. 40^{m}. at the end of a long bay. As soon as we had gained the mouth of this gulf, the wind called Inbat, began to waft us pleasantly along. This, which is a westerly wind, sets regularly in during the hot months, in the day time; and is generally succeeded by a land-breeze in the night. The city was in view before us, when evening came on, and the gale died away.

We arrived at the Frank Scale, or key for Europeans, early in the morning, and beheld Smyrna, no longer remote, spreading on a slope, the summit of the hill crowned with a large solitary castle; domes and minarets, with cypress-trees interspersed, rising above the houses. On the south side, where the

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Armenians and Jews have extensive burying grounds, on flats one above another, the surface of the acclivity appeared as covered with white marble. The quarter assigned to the Franks is on the north side; and by the shore, not far from us, the English flag was hoisted. Soon after, the consul, then Antony Hayes, Esq. sent an Armenian, one of his dragomen or interpreters, to be our guide to his house.

We landed and passed through the bezesten or *market*, which is " in form like a street, shutting up at each end, the shops being little rooms with cupolas leaded, and holes on the top with glass to let the light in.*" We then entered the street of the Franks, which had a dirty kennel, was of a mean aspect, and so narrow that we could scarcely get by a camel laden with charcoal. It was partly in ruins, a terrible fire having happened in the preceding year; and some of the consuls and merchants were now rebuilding, or had recently finished their houses, which in general extend from the street backward to the beach, and have an area or court. The apartments are in the upper story, spacious and handsome, with long galleries and terraces, open to the sea and the refreshing Inbat. Beneath them are large and substantial magazines for goods.

We were received by the consul, and visited by Mr. Lee, one of the principal merchants, and by the factory and other gentlemen, with great civility. As we were likely to make some stay, we enquired for lodgings, but were told that the families, which had been burned out, occupied all, and were distressed for room. The consul politely offered us a detached part of his house, which consists of a large quadrangle, with a court behind it. We were here much at our ease, and close by an ample

* Wheler.

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gallery, where we might enjoy the grateful Inbat, with a full view of the shipping and of the long fair canal within Karabornu, which is bordered by woody mountains and dusky olive-groves; the surface of the water shining, and smooth; or ruffled by the wind; the waves then coming toward Smyrna as it were in regular progression, and breaking on the beach.

Among the new objects, which first attracted our attention, were two live cameleons, one of the size of a large lizard. They were confined each on a long narrow piece of board suspended between two strings, and had for security twisted their tails several times round. We were much amused with the changes in the colour of these reptiles, and with seeing them feed. A fly, deprived of its wings, being put on the board, the cameleon soon perceives its prey, and untwirling its tail, moves towards it very gently and deliberately. When within distance, it suddenly seizes the poor insect, darting forward its tongue, a small long tube furnished with glutinous matter at the end, to which the fly adheres. This is done so nimbly and quietly, that we did not wonder it remained unobserved for ages, while the creature was idly supposed to subsist on air. One of these made its escape, the other perished with hunger.

CHAP. XVIII.

Origin of Smyrna—The site—Its prosperity—Ruined—The citadel repaired—The Mahometan and Christian towns—Success of Tamerlane—Smyrna reduced by the Sultans—The present town—The citadel—The stadium and theatre—The port—The walls—The sepulchres—Consumption of the old materials—Tomb of St. Polycarp.

It is related of Alexander the Great, that after hunting he fell asleep on Mount Pagus beneath a plane tree, which grew

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by a fountain, near a temple of the Nemeses; and that the goddesses directed him in a vision to found there a city for the Smyrnéans, a people from Ephesus, then living in villages. The work was begun by Antigonus, and finished by Lysimachus. The Clarian oracle was consulted on the removal of the Smyrnéans,* and answered in an heroic couplet, that those, who should dwell on mount Pagus, *beyond the sacred Meles*, would experience great prosperity. Afterwards the Ephesians, remembering their common origin, procured, with the concurrence of king Attalus and of Arsinoe his queen, their admission as members of the Ionic body; an honour, which they had coveted long before, when it was first constituted.† The Smyrnéans acknowledged more than one Nemeses; and two are represented as appearing to the warrior on a medallion in the Vatican.‡

The site selected by Alexander for this people was such as the ancient founders commonly preferred. Their cities in general were seated by some hill or mountain, which, as this did, supplied them with marble, and was commodious as well for defence as ornament. The side or slope afforded a secure foundation for the seats of the Stadium and Theatres, lessening both the labour and expense. It displayed the public and private structures, which rose from its quarry, to advantage; and rendered the view as captivating as noble. The Greeks were of old accounted happy in chusing their situations. They had been studious to unite beauty with strength, and good ports with a fertile soil. The Romans were attentive to articles neglected by them, to the paving of the ways, to the building of aqueducts, and to the common sewers.

* Pausanius, p. 210. † Vitruvius, p. 55. ‡ See Museum C. Albani. v. 1. pl. 32.

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Smyrna flourished, as Apollo had foretold; and, under the Romans, was esteemed the most beautiful of the Ionian cities. The wall comprised a portion of Mount Pagus, but more of the plain by the port, by the Metroum or temple of Cybele, and by the Gymnasium. The streets were as strait as the site would admit, and excellently disposed. The ways were paved. Both above and below were large quadrangular Stoas or *porticoes*. There was also a library, and, besides the other requisites of a noble city, a port which shut up; but from an omission of the architects, the want of sewers occasioned a great nuisance. It was much frequented by the sophists, and, with Ephesus, became renowned as a school of oratory and science. It has been exalted with high encomiums, and stiled *the lovely, the crown of Ionia, the ornament of Asia.*

In the year 1084, Tzachas, a Turkish malcontent, who assumed the title of king, seized and made Smyrna his capital. His fleet took Clazomene, Phocea, Scio, Samos, Mytilene, and other places. In 1097 this city was besieged by John Ducas, the Greek admiral; and on its surrender, Caspaces, who had been sent to attack it by sea, was appointed govenor; but a Turk stabbed him, and his death was revenged by the massacre of ten thousand inhabitants. The whole coast of Asia, from Smyrna to Attalia, had been desolated by the wars, when the Greek emperor sent Philokales, in 1106, to restore its cities. Adramytium, which had been utterly destroyed, was then rebuilt, and peopled with peasants and strangers.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, Smyrna lay in ruins, except the acropolis or citadel, which then served as a fortress. This was repaired and beautified by the emperor John Angelus Comnenus,* who died in 1224. Smyrna, thus

* Ducas, c. 7.

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restored, was a small town chiefly on the summit of Mount Pagus, or within the present castle.

In 1313, Atin had subdued Lydia, and extended his conquests to this place. In 1332, Amir or Homur, his son and successor, was Sultan of Smyrna. In 1345, while he was absent with his fleet, ravaging the coasts of the Propontis, some gallies of the Latins, and of the knights of Rhodes burnt several vessels in the port. Amir arrived in time to save the town, but could not dislodge the enemy from a fort, which they had seized, nor prevent their making a settlement at the mouth of the port, at a distance from the Turkish town. The next year, the pope sent thither a nominal patriarch of Constantinople, escorted by twelve gallies; but Amir, while mass was celebrating in the church, attacked and drove the Italians into their citadel, called fort St. Peter, before which he was afterwards killed by an arrow.

Tamerlane, who ravaged Anatolia, or Asia Minor, in 1402, hearing that the Christians and Mahometans had each a strong hold at Smyrna, and were always at war, required the former to change their religion; but the governor soliciting aid from the European princes, Tamerlane marched in person to subdue a place, which Sultan Morat had attempted in vain, and which his son Bajazet had besieged or blockaded for seven years. He attacked it by sea and land; and, to ruin the port, ordered each soldier to throw a stone into the mouth, which was soon filled up; but the ships had got away. He took the town in fourteen days, with great slaughter of the inhabitants, and demolished the houses. The knights had fled into the castle of St. Peter, and thence to their gallies, which lay near. He is said to have cut off the heads of a thousand prisoners, and to have caused a tower to be erected with stones and their heads intermixed.

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Cineis, who had long been governor of the Turkish town, continued in possession, when it was thus freed from its enemy and rival. He was much esteemed by the Ionians, and, after a variety of fortune, rose to be a sovereign in Asia. Sultan Mohammed the first, marched against him in 1419, and deprived him of Nymphéum, the city Cyme, and a fortress in the field of Menomen. He was assisted by the governors of the islands, who hated Cineis, by several princes on the continent, his neighbours, and even by the Grand Master of Rhodes, who was then rebuilding fort St. Peter, which Tamerlane had destroyed. He demolished the fortifications of Smyrna, but spared the inhabitants; and, on a complaint that the Ionian slaves, who escaped from their owners, found shelter in the fort, ordered it to be ruined; permitting another to be erected on the borders of Lycia and Caria. Smyrna was again taken in 1424 by Sultan Morat, Cineis retiring to the mountains.

When the conquering Turk had gained complete possession of the Greek empire, and peace was restored, commerce revived, and again settled at Smyrna. The inhabitants, delivered from their apprehensions of danger, by degrees abandoned the castle, and the town slid, as it were, down the slope towards the sea; leaving behind it a naked space, where they now dig for old materials, and also some ordinary ruins below the castle, which overlooks the buildings and the bay, at a distance.

The reader will not be surprised if few traces of the ancient city remain. From a survey of the castle, which is extensive, we collect, that after being re-edified by John Angelus Comnenus, its condition, though less ruinous than before, was far more mean and ignoble. The old wall, of which many remnants may be discovered, is of a solid massive construction,

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worthy of Alexander and his captains. All the repairs are mere patch-work. Near the western gate-way, at which you enter from the town, was once a fountain, now dry; by which is a marble colossal head, the face much injured, of Apollo, or, as some have supposed, of Smyrna, an Amazon, from whom the people derived their name. Within is a deserted mosque, rubbish of buildings, and a large reservoir for water; the roof arched, and supported by piers. On the marble arch of the gate-way fronting the north is inscribed a copy of verses, giving an elegant and poetical description of the extreme misery, from which the emperor John, before mentioned, had raised the city; and concluding with an address to the omnipotent Ruler of heaven and earth, that he would grant him and his queen, whose beauty it celebrates, a reign of many years.* On each side is an eagle, rudely cut. The river Hermus may be seen from this eminence, which also affords a view of a fine champaign country round about, covered with vines.

Going down from the western gate of the castle towards the sea, at some distance is the ground-plat of the stadium, stripped of its marble seats and decorations. One side was on the slope of the mountain; the opposite, or that next to the town, was raised on a vaulted substruction, which remains. It appears as a long dale, semicircular, or rounded at the top. The area, when we first saw it, had been reaped; and, another time, some men were busy ploughing in it. Going from the northern gate of the castle, over which is the inscription, you come to vestiges of a theatre, in the side of the hill, near the brow, and fronting the bay. Farther down is a quarry. Below the theatre is part of a slight wall, which, with a fosse round the hill,

* Inscript. Ant. p. 5.

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was begun about the year 1736, to protect the town from Soley Bey Oglou, a famous rebel, by whom it had been much distressed.*

The port, which shut up, reached once to the foot of the castle-hill, but is now dry, except after heavy rains, when it receives water from the slopes. It forms a spacious recess within the present town, and has houses along the margin. Tamerlane, by depriving the sea of its free ingress, contributed to this change, and the mud washed from above has gradually completed it. Like some of the Italian havens, it required perhaps to be cleansed, and deepened by machines contrived for that purpose. It is mentioned as the galley port at the beginning of this century.† A small mean castle still in use, on the north side of the entrance, is supposed to occupy the site of fort St. Peter.

The city wall, which descending from the castle, included the stadium on one hand, and the theatre on the other, has been long since demolished; and even its ruins are removed. A small remnant of it, on the hill above the stadium, consists of hard cement of rubble; but has been faced with better materials. This species of ancient masonry was called *Pseudisodomum*, as having externally the same appearance as the *Isodomum*, which was wholly of stone, or marble, the pieces regularly disposed. This side comprehended a large portion of the burying-grounds without the present town. The side next the theatre may be traced a considerable way along the brow, from its junction with the north east angle of the castle. In the Armenian quarter, by *The Three Corners*, or near the Frank street, are remnants of a thick and massive wall, which

* Pococke. † See Tourne-fort.

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has a large V cut on each stone; and in 1675, the foundations of a great and solid fabric, probably the Gymnasium, were visible in that part. Beyond the deep valley, in which the river Meles winds, behind the castle, are several portions of the wall of the pomœrium, which encompassed the city at a distance, but broken. The facings are gone, and masses only of hard cement and rubble are left.

The ancient sepulchres were chiefly in the pomœrium, without the city. One, which has been absurdly supposed a temple of Janus, remained in 1675, in the way to Eshekleer, or beyond the river Meles and on the left of the road, leading toward Magnesia. It was then among olive-trees, in a field. The inscriptions of several are preserved and have been published. At the house of a Turk, occupied by Mr. Purnell, an English gentleman, was a marble sarcophagus, of which a very exact drawing is given by Le Brun.*

The ancient city has supplied materials for the public edifices erected by the Turks. The bezesten or *market*, which was unfinished in 1675, and the vizir-khan, were both raised with the white marble of the theatre. The very ruins of the porticoes and temples are vanished. We saw remains of one only; some shafts of columns of variegated marble, much injured, in the way ascending through the town to the castle. Many pedestals, statues, inscriptions and medals, have been, and are still discovered in digging. Perhaps no place has contributed more than Smyrna to enrich the collections and cabinets of the curious in Europe.

In the history of St. Polycarp, the first bishop of Smyrna, it is related, that he was burnt here in the Amphitheatre.

* See Wheler, p. 243, and Spon. t. 1. p. 310. p. 190.

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The Asiatic cities used the stadium for the diversions of the Roman amphitheatre; and that, it is probable, was the scene of his martyrdom. His sepulchre, which the Greek Christians are said to have revered, and to have visited annually, on the twenty-third of February, is still to be seen, as travellers have reported, by a spreading tree below the castle; but this is an idle tale, and deserves to be exploded. I examined the spot, and made particular enquiries, but could obtain no satisfactory information. If his reliques were interred, and the place once venerated, the knowledge of it has long since perished. The early tradition, if true, must have been often intercepted in its course downwards. The race of citizens, among whom it was most likely to be preserved, has been extirpated by war, plague, fire, and earthquakes; and Symrna has been destitute of Greeks. Even now, under a more settled government, the same family seldom subsists there more than three generations.

CHAP. XIX.

Smyrna a great mart—The people—Dress of the women—Buildings—Heat, earthquakes, and plague—Burying grounds—Provisions—Mosquitoes or gnats.

The devastations committed in Asia Minor, and the changes effected on the coast, as will be shewn hereafter, by the rivers, have rendered Smyrna the only considerable mart by the sea side; and, in consequence, the principal center of the traffic of the country. One lucrative branch of its commerce failed during the troubles in Persia, when the throne was usurped by Nadir Shah. The accustomed communi-

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cation by caravans was then interrupted; and trade, meeting with obstructions in the old course, which it had held for ages, turned away into new channels. But, with this loss, Smyrna continues a large and flourishing city. The bay, besides numerous small craft, is daily frequented by ships of burthen from the chief ports in Europe; and the factors, who are a respectable body, at once live in affluence, and acquire fortunes.

The conflux at Smyrna of people of various nations, differing in dress, in manners, in language, and in religion, is very considerable. The Turks occupy by far the greater part of the town. The other tribes live in separate quarters. The protestants and Roman catholics have their chapels; the Jews a synagogue or two; the Armenians a large and handsome church with a burying-ground by it. The Greeks, before the fire, had two churches. They applied by their bishop at Constantinople, for leave to rebuild that which was destroyed, but the sum demanded was too exorbitant to be given. By this policy the Turks will in time extirpate Christianity from among their vassals.

The factors, and other Europeans settled at Smyrna, generally intermarry with the Greeks, or with natives of the same religion. Their ladies wear the oriental dress, consisting of large trowsers or breeches, which reach to the ancle; long vests of rich silk, or of velvet, lined in winter with costly furs; and round their waist, an embroidered zone, with clasps of silver or gold. Their hair is platted, and descends down the back, often in great profusion. The girls have sometimes above twenty thick tresses, besides two or three encircling the head, as a coronet, and set off with flowers, and plumes of feathers, pearls, or jewels. They commonly stain it of a

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chesnut-colour, which is the most desired. Their apparel and carriage are alike antique. It is remarkable, that the trowsers are mentioned in a fragment of Sappho*. The habit is light, loose, and cool, adapted to the climate. When they visit each other, they put over their heads a thin transparent veil of muslin, with a border of gold tissue. A janizary walks before, and two or more handmaids follow them, through the streets. When assembled, they are seen reclining in various attitudes, or sitting cross-legged on a sofa. Girls of inferior rank from the islands, especially Tino, abound; and are many of them as beautiful in person, as picturesque in their appearance. They excel in a glow of colour, which seems the effect of a warm sun, ripening the human body as it were into uncommon perfection. The women of the Turks, and of some other nations, are kept carefully concealed; and when they go out, are enwrapped in white linen, wear boots, and have their faces muffled.

The principal buildings in Smyrna are the mosques, the public baths, the bezesten or market, and the khans or inns. Some of these are very ample and noble edifices. The khans have in general a quadrangle or square area, and sometimes a fountain in the middle. The upper story consists of an open gallery, with a range of apartments, and often a small mosque, or place of worship, for the use of the devout mussulmen. Below are the camels with their burthens, and the mules, or horses. A servant dusts the floor of a vacant chamber, when you arrive, and spreading a mat, which is all the furniture, leaves you in possession. The gates are shut about sunset, and a trifling gratuity is expected by the keeper at your departure.

* Warton's Theocritus, p. 304. They are now called βράκη.

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The streets of Smyrna, a few excepted, are very narrow, and exceedingly intricate. Caution is requisite in going out of the Frank quarter, and it is proper to be preceded by a janizary as a safe-guard. The lofty mountains,* which shelter the town, and leave it open only to the sea, concenter the rays of the sun, as it were into a focus. The intense heat commences in June, and continues, without intermission, to the end of August, or the middle of September. During this period, if the Inbat fail, the inhabitants are distressed, and even gasp for breath. The ground is then burnt up, and has large chasms and fissures, which, as some have imagined, give vent to bituminous vapours. These, if confined, are supposed to occasion earthquakes by their explosion. A year seldom passes without a shock or two, but generally slight, and less hurtful than alarming. They happen chiefly in spring and autumn, when the weather is calm; and it has been remarked at those times, that the sea commonly withdraws from the beach, and the water is unusually low. Besides this calamity, Smyrna is visited almost annually by the plague. If the distemper rage, the consuls and factors either retire into the country, or, as the phrase is, *shut up*, not admitting even the market-men to enter their gates. Many of the people abandon their dwellings, and live abroad under tents. The islanders return home, and the streets of the Frank quarter, which is exceedingly populous, cease to be trodden.

The Turks bury chiefly without the town, where the inclosures are very extensive, it being their custom not to open

* The mountains behind Smyrna were anciently called Mastusia and Termetis. *Pliny.*

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the grounds filled with bodies, until a long term of years has elapsed. The graves have stones or pillars at the head and feet, and are sometimes shaded with cypress-trees. In their cemeteries, and in those of the Christians and Jews, are found many marble slabs and fragments of architecture. The English ground, which is at a distance from the Frank quarter, at the opposite end of the town, is walled in, and contains some monuments worthy notice for the beauty of their sculpture. These were brought from Italy. Mr. Bouverie, the friend and companion of Mr. Dawkins and Mr. Wood, is interred there, and has over him a plain marble, with a long Latin inscription. He died at Guzelhissar, or Magnesia, *by the Meander*.

Smyrna is well supplied with provisions. The sheep have broad tails, hanging down like an apron, some weighing eight, ten, or more pounds. These are eaten as a dainty, and the fat, before they are full grown, accounted as delicious as marrow. The flesh of wild hogs is common, and in esteem among the Europeans and Greeks, who purchase the animal, when killed by the Turks. Fine fish is taken in the bay. Hares, with game and fowl, are cheap. The partridges are bigger than the English, of a different colour and species, with red legs. The olive-groves furnish doves, fieldfares, thrushes, quails, snipes, and the like, in abundance. A variety of excellent wines are produced in the country, or imported from the islands. The fruits are of an exquisite flavour. Among those of the gourd kind, the water-mellon which grows to a great size, is not only highly palatable, but so innocent as to be allowed to the sick in fevers. The figs are deservedly famous. The rich clusters of grapes are as wholesome as beautiful. Many on the stalk are found converted by the sun into raisins.

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We were shewn one species, which had no stones. Large and heavy bunches are hung on strings, and preserved in the shops, for sale in the winter. Lemons and oranges, with citrons, are in plenty. The sherbets made with the juice of the two former, newly gathered, in water, sweetened with white honey, are as cooling, as grateful to the taste. Coffee is brought from Arabia. We partook almost daily of eatables unknown to us before. It is the general custom to sleep after dinner; and this indulgence is recommended as conducing, and even necessary, to health, in that climate.

Our situation was not, however, without grievances. We were much infested by a minute fly, which irritates by its puncture, and, settling on the white wall, eludes the angry pursuer with surprising activity. But this species, and the other insects which annoyed us, were petty offenders compared with the mosquitos, or large gnats, which tormented us exceedingly by their loud noise, and by repeated attacks on our skin where naked, or lightly clothed, perforating it with their acute proboscis, and sucking our blood, till they were full. A small fiery tumour then ensues, which will not soon subside, unless the patient has been, as it were, naturalized by residence ; but the pain is much allayed by lemon-juice. At night they raged furiously about our beds, assaulting the gauze-veil, our defence, which, thin as it was, augmented the violent heat to a degree almost intolerable. Their fondness of foreign food is generally but too visible, in the swollen and distorted features of persons newly arrived.

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CHAP. XX.

Of the adjacent country—The river Meles—The inner bay—Old Smyrna—Ancient sepulchres—Origin of old Smyrna—Story of Homer—Of another poet of Smyrna—The aqueducts—The cave of Homer—The river god.

SMYRNA has on the south-east* a fine plain, in which are villages, and the houses of the principal factors, who reside in the country in the summer. Norlecui and Hadjelar are toward the east. On the north side is Bujaw, distinguished by tall cypress-trees; and about a league from the sea Bonavre. In the way to this village, not far from the road, is a pool or two, now called *the Baths of Diana*, the water clear and warm; a steam arising from it in winter. The fragments of a marble edifice near it have been removed. Some arches and foundations of buildings have been discovered in digging. In the middle of the plain are several small canals, which communicate with aqueducts behind the castle hill. The bed of a torrent, which after rains falls into the river Meles, is on the south of the plain; and beyond, or toward the feet of the mountains is a village called Sedicui. Wild animals abound; and especially jackalls, which are heard nightly, howling on the hills or in the plain. When one begins, the rest join, as it were, in full cry. Cameleons and lizards are commonly seen, about the rubbish of old buildings, basking in the sun; and several kinds of snakes are found, some of a great length, which frequently are discovered by their musky smell.

* Pococke.

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The Meles was anciently the boast of the Smyrnéans. This most beautiful water, as it had been stiled, flowed by the city-wall, and had its sources not remote. The clear stream is shallow in summer, not covering the rocky bed, but winding in the deep valley behind the castle, and murmuring among the ever-greens. It receives many rills from the sides; and, after turning an over-shot mill or two, approaches *the gardens* without the town, where it is branched out by small canals, and divided and subdivided into lesser currents, until it is absorbed, or reaches the sea, at the end of the Frank street, in ditches, unlike a river. But in winter, after heavy rains on the mountains, or the melting of snow, it swells into a torrent, rapid and deep, often not fordable, or with danger.

On the north of Smyrna, the sea enters a recess, in which is the road, where ships careen. This inner bay is called by the English sailors, *Peg's Hole*. The Meles, when full, pursues its way thither, instead of losing itself in the gardens. There also the first Smyrna was situated.

Old Smyrna was about twenty stadia, or two miles and a half, from the present city, and on the other side of the river. It is described as near the sea, with the clear stream of the Meles running by, and existed in the second century. Perhaps some vestiges might be discovered, even now, in tracing the river toward the bay. This is less wide than it was antiently, and has been removed from the site, by a large accession of low land, formed of soil, washed from the mountains near, or of mud and slime brought down by the torrents.

Pococke* has described several very ancient sepulchres on the side of the hill, more to the west than Bonavre, and near

* P. 93.

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the corner of the bay, which, I should suppose, are reliques of old Smyrna. The plainest sort consists, as he relates, of a raised ground in a circular form, of stones hewn out, or laid in a rough manner. In these are generally two graves, sunk in the earth, made of hewn stone, and covered over with a large stone. The others are circular mounts, from twenty to sixty feet in diameter, walled round, as high as their tops, with large rusticated stones; and have within, under ground, a room, which in some is divided into two apartments. The walls are all of good workmanship, constructed with a kind of brown bastard granite, the produce of the country, wrought very smooth; the joinings as fine as in polished marble. Some of the English had opened one of the former sort, and found an urn in it. I visited an old Turkish cemetery of considerable extent by Bonavre: and regret that I was not then apprised of these curious remains.

The Smyrnéans were originally of Ephesus, but had seceded, and, after dispossessing the Leleges, founded the city above mentioned. They were expelled in turn by the Æolians of Cyme, and retired to Colophon; but a party pretending to be fugitives, obtained re-admission, and, while the people were celebrating a feast of Bacchus without the walls, shut the gates. A general war was likely to follow between Æolia and Ionia, but it was at length agreed, that the town should deliver up all the effects of the late inhabitants, who were to be distributed among the Æolian cities. The territory of Smyrna had supplied corn for exportation, and the place was then become a considerable emporium. The Lydians destroyed this city, and the Smyrnéans subsisted four hundred years as villagers, before they settled on Mount Pagus.

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It was the Æolian Smyrna, which claimed the glory of producing Homer. Critheis, his mother, it is related, going in company with other women out of the town, to observe a festival, was delivered of him near the Meles, and named him Melsegenes. This story is dated ten years after the building of Smyrna, and one hundred and fifty-eight after the war of Troy. We may regret that the pleas of all the cities, which disputed the honour of his birth, are not on record. The place and time are equally unascertained; and it has been observed, that the poet has mentioned neither the Meles nor Smyrna.*

The history of Homer, it is remarkable, is scarcely more obscure than that of another poet of Smyrna, who has likewise written on the Trojan war. This person indeed tells us, in an address to the Muses, that he had been inspired by them with his whole song before the down covered his cheeks, while he fed sheep in the territory of Smyrna, by the temple of Diana, on a mountain of a middling height, three times as far from the Hermus as a man, when he hollows, can be heard. His work, containing a sequel to the Iliad in fourteen books, was found by cardinal Bessarion in the church of St. Nicholas near Hydrûs, a city of Magna Græcia; and by him communicated to the learned. The name of Quintus, perhaps the owner, was inscribed on the manuscript; and the author has been since called by it, with the addition of Smyrnæus or Calaber. He appears to have been well acquainted with the country in which he lived, and has left some valuable descriptions of its antiquities and natural curiosities.

The bed of the river Meles, behind the castle, is crossed by

* Strabo, p. 454.

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a lofty aqueduct, which, when we saw it, had been recently repaired, and then supplied the fountains in Smyrna. Higher up is one larger, but ruinous; and near this is a remnant of an ancient paved causey, which led over the hills from Smyrna toward Ephesus and Colophon. The stones are smooth, broad, and massive. By the aqueduct are several petrifications, and one, of which an aged tree was the mould. The wood has perished, but the large hollow trunk, which incrusted it, is standing. The Meles rises above the aqueducts, out of a dry course deep-worn by torrents from the mountains.

The Smyrnéans were extremely jealous of their property in Homer. They distinguished a brass coin or medal by his name; and an Homerium, his temple and image surrounded with a quadrangular stoa or portico, stood in the new city. They likewise shewed a cave, by the sources of the Meles, where they said he had composed verses. I searched for this, and in the bank above the aqueduct, on the left hand, discovered a cavern, about four feet wide, the roof a huge rock, cracked and slanting, the sides and bottom sandy. The mouth, at which I crept in, is low and narrow; but there is another avenue, wider and higher, about three feet from the ground, and almost concealed with brambles. It may be entered also from above where the earth has fallen in. Beyond it we found a passage cut, leading into a kind of well, in which was a small channel designed to convey water to the aqueduct. This was dry, but near it was a current with a like aperture.

The river god, Meles, is represented on medals leaning on an urn with a cornucopia in his hand, to signify that he dispensed fertility; or bearing a lyre, as a friend to the Muses. He has been much extolled by the ancient poets, and raised,

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from his supposed connexion with Homer to a king of pre-eminence among the river deities. A sophist,* alluding to epithets bestowed by Homer, says of the Meles, that, boasting of such a son, he needed not envy the *silver-vortexes* of one river; or another, *his smoothness;* a third, that he is termed *divine;* or a fourth, *beautiful;* Xanthus or Scamander, the river near Troy, his descent from Jupiter; nor the Ocean, that he styled their general parent.

CHAP. XXI.

The gulph of Smyrna—Menimen—The river Hermus—The strait—The shoals—The plain of the Hermus—The mouth—Of Leuce—The extremity of the plain—Of Phocéa—Future changes to be expected.

THE gulph of Smyrna, which has been computed about ten leagues long, is sheltered by hills, and affords secure anchorage. The mouth of the Hermus is on the north side, within two leagues and a half of the city. The mountain, which bounds the bay of old Smyrna on the north, extends westward to a level plain, in which the river runs. This, with the Meander, was anciently famous for a fish called glanis, and for mullet; which came up from the sea in great numbers, particularly in spring.

The fertility of the soil by the river, and the plenty of water for the uses of gardening and agriculture, with other advantages, has occasioned the settling of numerous villages on that side of the gulf. Menomen, or, as it is commonly called, Menimen, is the principal, and supplies Smyrna with

* See Philostratus.

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fruits, fish and provisions, boats passing to and fro without intermission. Near the scale or landing-place, which is three hours distant, is a large quantity of low land, bare, or covered only with shallow water. This tract is the site of a considerable fishery; being inclosed by reed-fences with gates or avenues, which are shut up to prevent the shoals from retreating, when they have once entered. We saw on the beach many camels laden, or standing by their burthens; and met on the road some travellers from Arabia and other countries; going to, or returning from, Constantinople. The hills were enlivened by flocks of sheep and goats, and resounded with the rude music of the lyre and of the pipe; the former a stringed instrument resembling a guitar, and held much in the same manner, but usually played on with a bow. We were then engaged, with some of our countrymen, in a shooting party, and in traversing the mountains, I had a distinct view of Menimen. It is situated on a rising ground by the Hermus, and appeared as a considerable place, with old castles. I have sometimes suspected it to have been anciently called Neontichos; but these parts, with the whole country of Æolia, still remain unexplored.

The Hermus, which in the winter had spread a wide flood, now, after passing Menimen, pursued its way to the sea, through low grounds, in some places, still under water. The stream was not wide, but full; winding toward the mouth, by which the soil appeared bare, and as mud undried. In summer it has a bar at the entrance, and is often shallow; and some of the shoals marked in the map are then dry. The plain had many channels formed by torrents from the mountains.

Near the mouth of the river is a sand-bank or shoal. The

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channel there is very narrow, the land on the opposite side running out, and forming a low point, on which is a fortress erected, to secure the approach to the city, soon after the battle of the Dardenelles in 1656, when the Venetians defeated the fleet of Mahomet the Fourth. It is called *Sangiac* castle, because the grand seignior's colours are, on some occasions, hoisted there.

Besides the visible accession of land by the Hermus, and on the margin of the gulf, several banks lie concealed beneath the water, on either hand, sailing up to Smyrna. The principal one next the river, it is said, was formerly a dry and green flat, which suddenly sunk after an earthquake; probably that which happened in 1739, and was so great as to occasion a general terror: many families, from apprehension, abandoning their houses after it, and sleeping all the summer in huts in their gardens and court-yards. Ships often go upon it, without much danger, and are soon afloat again, if the wind set in. The end is driven out in an elbow toward the Sangiac castle by a strong current from the bay of old Smyrna; but the head is firmly fixed, and it will gradually re-emerge, and become dry and green as before. I have sailed often by shoals on the same side as the castle, in the way to the olive-groves, which, I was told, had risen above the surface of the sea, within a few years. On one or two of them was a hut belonging to some poor fishermen.

The beautiful and extensive plains, which were of old regarded as peculiar to the country, have been justly styled the offspring of its rivers. The Hermus, the Cayster, and the Meander, were each noted for producing new land; and had each a district, aptly called by its name, as by that of the parent.

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The mouth of the Hermus has been continually shifting and changing place, in consequence of the encroachments made on the sea. Hence Pliny writes, " The town of Temnos has been, but the rocks within the extremity of the gulph, called Myrmeces, *The Pismires*, now are at the mouth of the Hermus." It is at present much nearer to Smyrna, than appears in the maps in general, and perhaps than it was a few centuries ago.

The same author mentions, that Leuce, then a promontory in the Smyrnéan gulf, had once been an island. This spot had on it a small town of the same name, founded in the second year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, by Tachos, a Persian malcontent, who died soon after. The people of Cyme and of Clazomene contended for it, and agreed to submit their cause to the decision of the oracle at Delphi; when the Pythia gave Leuce to the claimant, which should first sacrifice there in the temple of Apollo. The Clazomenians were the more remote, but by their management obtained the place. Aristonicus, an illegitimate son of king Eumenes, got possession of it on the death of Attalus Philometor. The Roman consul, Crassus, was sent against him, and was killed fighting near it.

It happened, that our passage up and down the gulf was in the night; but when we sailed from Smyrna, the Inbat met us near the entrance, and we steered our boat into a small creek on the north side, below the Hermus, and an hour from Phoggia or Phocéa. We had there a view of the extremity of the plain, which is wide, low, and level, encircling the rocks once called the Myrmeces, and a small mountain or hill with a smooth top. This, it is believed,

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was the island and promontory Leuce. A long spit now runs from it out into the sea.

On the coast, after Leuce, was anciently Phocéa, situated in a bay; the city oblong, the wall inclosing a space of two miles and five hundred paces, the sides then meeting, and forming as it were a wedge, which they called Lamptera, where it was one mile and two hundred paces wide. A tongue of land then running a mile out into the sea, and dividing the bay about the middle, formed two secure ports, one on each side of the isthmus; that toward the south called Naustathmos; the other, which was near, Lamptera. The present town* is seated on the tongue, within the isthmus, and the ancient site is called Palæ-Phoggia, or *Old Phocéa*. It has on the north four islets, one named *St. George*, lying before the harbour. Beyond Phocéa were the boundaries of Ionia and Æolia, less than two hundred stadia, or twenty five miles, from Smyrna.

The river Hermus, by its influence on the gulf, has already effected great changes, and will gradually accomplish some signal alterations, of which the progress deserves to be accurately marked. The flats before Smyrna will mutually approach; and, leaving only a narrow ingress, the city will be on a lake. This will be fed by the Meles, and by torrents, and in time become fresh. The plague of gnats will then, if possible, be multiplied at Smyrna. The land will continue to increase, until it is in a line with the mouth of the gulf, when the site of Clazomene and the islets within Kara-bornu, will be encompassed with soil; and, if no current intervene, Pho-

* See views in Le Brun, p. 166.

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cèa will be deprived of its harbour. The sea within the gulf will by degrees give place to a noble plain created and watered by the Hermus. Commerce will have then removed to some more commodious mart, and Smyrna be, if not utterly deserted, desolate and forlorn.

CHAP. XXII.

Our firhman—First journey from Smyrna—A tendour—Mildness of the winter at Smyrna—Return of the cranes—We prepare for another journey—Rumour of the plague—Confirmed—Our embarrassment—Our second journey—Method.

On our return to Smyrna, in the evening of the 18th of September, from a small excursion with a party of our countrymen, we were agreeably surprised to find the Anglicana arrived in the bay from Constantinople. The captain brought with him a *firhman or travelling command*, obtained for us from the Porte by the English ambassador. This instrument enjoined all the governors, the judges, the officers of the janizaries and of the revenue, to whom we should present it, not to molest us or our European servants, on any pretence, nor to exact tribute from us, but to protect and defend us, and permit us to prosecute our journies without obstruction, as they respected the imperial signature. It was dated about the middle of the moon Rebiulevvèl, in the year of the Hegira 1178; or of September, 1764.

A small portion of the year yet remained not unfit for travelling. Finding our English bedding too cumbersome, we purchased thin mattresses stuffed with cotton, some tin ket-

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tles, plates, and other like necessaries; and hired a janizary, with two grooms and a cook, Armenians. One horse carried our baggage. We set out on the 30th of September, and were absent until the 29th of October. The weather, which had favoured us, then became rainy and bad, but soon changed again to mild and agreeable.

The happy temperature of the climate of Ionia in general, has been much favoured by the ancients. At Smyrna, the houses, except those erected by the Europeans, have seldom chimnies or fire-places in the rooms. In cold weather it is usual to place a pan of charcoal beneath a table, over which a carpet, or handsome counterpane is spread, the sides reaching to the floor. This is called a tendour. The family sit round, warming their legs and hands under the cover.

As winter advanced, the sky, which in summer is most remarkably clear, and serene, varied; and we had alternately sunshine and rain. Southerly winds chiefly prevailed, bringing clouds on the mountains, from which proceeded thunder and lightning. The showers renew the verdure, which, in the middle of December, was as fine as ever I saw, with marigolds and anemonies, springing spontaneously from the turf beneath the olive trees, in great profusion. At the same time thickets of myrtle in blossom adorned the waste; and in the gardens the golden fruit glittered among the deep-green leaves of the orange trees. The southerly quarter is warm as well as wet; but the flowers, which it produces, instantly droop and wither before the northerly and easterly winds. These in summer are hot, coming over parched plains and naked mountains exposed to the sun; but at this season are extremely bleak and penetrating, and bring snow on the distant hills; that or sleet rarely falling in the champaign country or valleys. The

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north-east is often attended with heavy rain, without thunder. In the coldest day we felt, our thermometer was at forty nine; but in December the sun at times was powerful, and the air sultry: and, once in that month, the same thermometer rose to eighty in the shade. We had plenty of daffodils and hyacinths. Early in February the almond trees blossomed, and roses and carnations were common, and sold about the streets. Upon the whole, we enjoyed, except some few intervals, an azure sky, with exquisite softness, such as cannot be described.

A company of cranes, returning from their winter quarters, flew in orderly array over Smyrna, on the ninth of March, northward. Another soon followed, and then many; some by day, when they are seen changing their figure and leader; some by moon-light, when they are heard, high in air, repeating their noisy signals. At the same time the bees were observed to be in motion. These were regarded as sure signs that winter was at an end, and as foretelling settled weather.

I had begun early to prepare for another journey, and studied to remove, or remedy, as far as possible, the inconveniencies we had before experienced, by providing a tent and increasing the number of our attendants and horses. It was thought proper not to move until the Ramazan or Lent of the Turks, during which they are often sour and churlish, was over; and the general change or re-appointment of the governors, which is made in March, had taken place.

A rumour, that the plague had appeared in Smyrna, was current, but not credited; it often happening that such stories are propagated to serve a private purpose, or to dis-

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tress the trade of a rival factory. It was now again asserted, that a person was ill or dead of the disease; and an English ship left the bay only half laden.

We had agreed, on the 13th of March, to leave Smyrna on the 21st. On the 18th we were informed, that our janizary was unwilling to go then; bairam, or the Turkish holidays beginning the next day; but was ready to set out with us either before or two days after. We then fixed on the 25th. Between the 17th and 20th we were assured, that four or five persons more had been attacked by the plague, imported, it was said, from Musconisi, or from Tino, in which islands and in Scio, it was well known, the distemper had resided for some time. These accidents disconcerted us exceedingly, and seemed to threaten a final period to our expedition.

It may be imagined that, during our abode with the consul, the plague had been a frequent topic of our conversation. We were told, this season seldom passed without some appearance of it; that often the malady did not spread, or was partial, and of short duration; that it was communicated only by contact with some person or thing infected; and that the Franks, who are accounted less liable to receive it than the people of the country, continue, unless it be very general, their business and recreations as usual: but on the other hand, the approaching holidays both of the Turks and Christians, made it not improbable that the contagion would be carried to and fro, and that it would soon extend over the whole city and its vicinity. We had before us personal danger, and the apprehension of a tedious and disagreeable confinement, not without its perils, if we remained at Smyrna, or in Asia. In such situations as these, even extreme

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timidity scarcely deserves censure. Among other expedients, it was proposed to pursue the general plan of our voyage by crossing over to Athens, and returning in autumn, when the plague should have ceased; but this measure too had its risks and inconveniencies; and, at length, as the places suspected were only Smyrna and Pergamo, after due deliberation, we resolved to proceed on our intended journey.

We quitted the consul's house on Monday, the 25th of March, O. S. 1765, attended by a Swiss, and some Armenian servants, with a mule and horses carrying provision—chests, utensils for cooking, our tent, bedding, and other requisites; all together forming a very motley caravan or procession, headed by a janizary. The Frank families had then shut up, as it is termed, or had retired into the country, for security from the infection. We did not return to Smyrna until the 8th of August.

Some occurrences, which will be related, made it prudent to contract this journey within a much narrower outline than was previously designed. The former falling in with it, and both together completing our survey of these parts, as far as we found practicable, we shall unite them in our narrative; this method enabling us to follow nearly the course of the country: beginning with the latter, which was the most extensive, and marking their mutual coincidence, with the different seasons, in which they were performed.

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CHAP. XXIII.

Sea-coast of Ionia—Vourla reputed Clazomene—The olive-groves—Vestiges of an ancient bridge—The Agamemnonian hot baths—Their present state—Isthmus of the peninsula—The dike cut by Alexander—Villages—The town of Vourla.

THE sea-coast of Ionia extended from Phocéa and the Hermus, southward to Posidium, a promontory of the Milesians, and to the Carian mountains. The shape was irregular, it abounding in bays and peninsulas. The cities were all originally maritime; their number on the continent ten, besides Smyrna; their situation as uncommonly fine as their climate. It has been said of this region, that it boasted temples, such as were possessed by no other country, and many wonders hardly exceeded even in Hellas or Greece.

The city of Ionia, next to Smyrna, was Clazomene. As this place was within the gulf, on the south-side, and the distance anciently reckoned only twelve miles, we supposed the site known to the people of Smyrna, and the modern name to be, as they informed us, Vourla. We resolved therefore to begin our second journey with that town, distant by computation six hours; hoping, if the plague did not cease at Smyrna during our absence, we might at least escape its fury; and expecting to obtain security and satisfaction, in proportion as we removed from the seat of infection, and of its sure concomitant, mortality.

We set out from Smyrna at eight in the morning, on the 25th of March, and passing through the lower portion of

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the city, crossed the mouth of the dry port, to a road between the burying-grounds on the hill and the sea. There, on the right hand, near the end of the graves, may be seen a piece of tessellated pavement, running under the bank. After going over a bare craggy ridge, we turned westward into a wood of olives, in which we remarked many trees with huge knotty trunks, indicating extreme old age. The green level was enamelled with anemonies, and other beautiful flowers. The sky was clear and serene, and the breeze gentle and deliciously soft. The Europeans resort to these groves, on shooting parties, in boats from the town, or with their families for pleasure, and the benefit of the air.

We came now to a shallow river, over which is a lofty bridge, intended to secure a passage to the traveller, when torrents descend from the adjacent mountain, formerly called Corax. On this principally the clouds seen from Smyrna reside, when the wind is southerly. Nearer the foot are vestiges of an ancient bridge, of which the piers were rebuilt, or repaired, before its final ruin; and in one of them is a maimed Corinthian capital. I once pursued the stream a considerable way into the mountain. It flowed rapid and transparent over the rough solid rock, its course deep-sunk between shaggy summits, whose sides are almost perpendicular, and inaccessible even to goats; a crowded flock then browsing below. We met, besides these and their keepers, a peasant or two by a little over-shot mill, the wretched tenants of this solemn and striking recess.

Some fragments of architecture in the Turkish burying-grounds, not far from hence, it is likely, belonged, with the relique above-mentioned, to the temple of Apollo, once seated

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on the western bank of this stream, by the hot baths.* These have been computed forty stadia, or five miles from the city, and were called *the Agamemnonian*, by the people of Smyrna. It is related, that the army under Agamemnon, ravaging Mysia, was engaged by Telephus near the river Caicus; that many of the Greeks were wounded in the battle; that an oracle directed them for a cure to these waters; and that here and there the helmets taken from the enemy were suspended.† The old remains of the buildings are of brick, the masonry good, but soil and rubbish have risen to the imposts of the arches, which are closed.

You descend by steps to the bath, which is under a modern vaulted roof, with vents in it for the steam; and adjoining to this, is a like room now disused. The current, which is soft and limpid, is conveyed into a small round basin of marble, and runs over into a large cistern or reservoir beneath. Our thermometer rose in the vein to one hundred and fifty. Near it is a duct, which supplies a cold stream; but in January, when I saw it, was dry. A quantity of coagulated blood lay on the pavement. I was informed a sheep had been killed above, and that substance used instead of soap in shaving, which operation is often performed in the baths. The warm rill emerges in two or more places in the bed of the river, and in cool weather may easily be discovered, a thick mist rising from it, visible afar off.

After passing the river and Sangiac castle, we came to the sea-side, and to a coffee-hut, at which we alighted, and tarried twenty minutes. At one we opened the isthmus, or neck of the peninsula, the southern boundary of the gulf.

* Strabo, p. 645. † Philostratus, p. 664.

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The Clazomenians anciently inhabited on the north side, bordering on the Erythréans, who were within it. The Teians were on the south, with a port north of their city. Hitherto our course westward had been chiefly beneath the northern termination of Mount Corax.

The isthmus appears as a wide pleasant valley, and the land being mostly level, we could discern across it the blue tops of the island Samos. Its width* was reckoned fifty stadia, or six miles and a quarter; and the periplus or circumnavigation of the peninsula, a thousand stadia, or one hundred and twenty-five miles. The distance of Smyrna from Ephesus, in a straight line, was only three hundred and twenty stadia, or forty miles; but, if you coasted, near two thousand two hundred stadia, or two hundred and seventy five miles; owing principally to this peninsula. Alexander the Great, to render the communication easier, ordered, that a navigable cut should be made though the plain here, intending to join the two bays, and by converting the whole Cherronese into an island, to surround the city Erythræ and Mount Mimas with the sea. A dike, or canal, running up the valley, is a monument of that attempt, which failed, when the workmen came to the rock. We passed it over a bar of sand at the mouth. The inbat blowing fresh, and the waves dashing over, two of our horses started aside, floundered deep, and wetted our baggage. A like accident, in fording another water afterwards, occasioned some delay.

We continued our journey along the shore. The hills on our left were covered with low shrubs, and villages, some of a clean dry aspect, and several not immediately discernible,

* In Pliny, seven miles and a half.

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though near; the mud-built cottages being exactly of the same colour with the soil. As we approached Vourla, the little vallies were all green with corn, or filled with naked vine stocks in orderly arrangement, about a foot and a half high. The people were working, many in a row, turning the earth, or encircling the trunks with tar, to secure the buds from grubs and worms. The shoots, which bear the fruit, are cut down again in winter. We saw another species, which produces very large grapes, running up and spreading on the branches of trees planted for their support. A mart like Smyrna diffuses cultivation through all its vicinity.

Vourla is distinguished at a distance by its numerous windmills. On entering the town, we saw nobody, the houses were shut up, and a silence and solitude prevailed, which, before we recollected what we had lately seen, suggested to us the terrible idea, that the inhabitants had left it, to avoid the cruel distemper from which we also were flying. It is a place of considerable extent, the buildings dispersed on eminences; with a pleasant plain toward the sea. The water and air are reputed good. The Turks have seven mosques, and the Greeks two churches. At one of these is a small bass-relief, representing a funereal supper, with a short inscription.* Another is fixed in the wall over a fountain. We were recommended by letter to an Italian, a practitioner in physic, who attended us about the town, and shewed us every civility in his power. A cursory view of this place was sufficient to convince us, that it did not stand on the site of Clazomene.

* Inscript. Ant. p. 6.

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CHAP. XXIV.

We search for Clazomene—Discover the mole—Pass over the site—Islets—We repass—Origin of Vourla.

We were assisted by the friendly Italian in our enquiries for a ruined city in that neighbourhood, and in the evening procured a man to conduct us, as we supposed, to the site of Clazomene. We set out early in the morning, when he carried us back to the opening of the isthmus, and shewed us, for Clazomene, a piece of ordinary wall, which has inclosed a cistern on the top of a hill; with some scattered rubbish on the slope. There, it is likely, was anciently the settlement of the Chalsidensians, probably a colony from Chalsis in Eubœa, belonging to Clazomene. Above them was a grove sacred to Alexander the Great, where the games called Alexandréa were celebrated by the Ionian body.

Finding our guide ignorant, and at a loss which way to go, we adopted the surer direction of ancient history; remembering, that the Clazomenians, to be more secure from the Persians, had settled in an island, which, by command of Alexander, was afterwards changed into a peninsula, by the addition of a mole. We crossed the plain of Vourla, slanting toward the sea, and soon discovered this monument also of that great mind, which delighted in correcting or subduing nature by filling up or forming paths for the deep; which here still bore visible marks of his royal pleasure, and now raged, as it were indignant, but in vain, against the barrier which he had appointed.

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The mole was two stadia, or a quarter of a mile in length, but we were ten minutes in crossing it; the waves, which were impelled by a strong inbat, breaking over in a very formidable manner, as high as the bellies of our horses. The width, as we conjectured, was about thirty feet. On the west side it is fronted with a thick strong wall, some pieces appearing above the water. On the opposite is a mound of loose pebbles, shelving as a buttress, to withstand the furious assaults of storm and tempest. The upper works have been demolished, and the materials, a few large rough stones excepted, removed.

We computed the island to be about a mile long, and a quarter broad. The city was small, its port on the N. N. W. side. Traces of the walls are found by the sea, and in a hill are vestiges of a theatre. Three or four trees grow on it, and by one is a cave* hewn in the rock, and affording water. The soil was now covered with green corn. A vaulted room with a chimney at one end, and a hovel or two made with stones piled, are all the present structures; and these are chiefly frequented by fishermen, and by persons employed to watch, and to drive away birds, when the grain ripens. Referring to this confined situation of Clazomene, a famous sophist, when importuned to adorn his native city by residing in it, rather than at Smyrna, replied, *the nightingale refuses to sing in a cage.*

* A cave is mentioned by Pausanius, p. 211. It is thus described by Randolph. Nothing remains but the cave, which is cut out of a firm rock, almost square, supported with four pillars of the same rock. To the eastward is part of an altar, and in the middle is a well, but the water is brackish, and not fit to be drunk. *State of the islands in the Archipelago*, 1687.

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By Clazomene is a cluster of islets,† all once cultivated, now neglected and barren. Their number was eight, but I could count only six. One is called *Long Island*, and by some *the English Island*, because, as they relate, a party of our countrymen from Smyrna landing on it for diversion, were attacked suddenly, and murdered there by banditti or pirates. Some of these islets, and perhaps even of the Œnussæ without the gulf, may owe their origin or increase to the river Hermus.

After making the circuit of the island, we sat down by the isthmus to dine, when our attention was engaged by a large company landed at the scale or road of Vourla, which is westward from the mole, and had in it some small-craft, with a few houses and a mosque on the shore. An irregular discharge of guns and pistols followed, in compliment, as our guide told us, to the new aga or governor, who was then arrived. In the mean time the inbat increased very fast, as usual toward sun-set, and with it the swell of the sea. We began to wish that we had repassed the mole, as soon as our curiosity was gratified; and to apprehend, that without a speedy removal, we might be detained much longer on this deserted spot than we should like. Our horses were shy of the surf, and one of our company, inclining too much to the left to avoid it, got into deep water, but soon recovered the track.

Among the causes, which have co-operated in bringing on the general desolation of these coasts, may be numbered the outrages suffered from licentious pirates, under a weak or bad government, and the hostilities committed by privateers.

† Three of them were called Marathusa, Pele, Drymusa. It is probable the names of all of them are contained in a passage of Pliny, l. 5. c. 37.

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The former have in all ages infested these seas; encouraged by the frequent creeks and portlets; where they may lie unnoticed, looking out for their prey from eminences, which command extensive views of the canals between the islands; or ready, on the approach of a superior force, to abandon their vessels, and escape to the mountains. The Clazomenians, molested, it is said, by Corsairs of Tino, retired from the sea to the continent, where they were less liable to be surprised. Many other places owe their origin to the same motives of apprehension and prudence as Vourla.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the Kara-borniotes—Mount Mimas—Night—Arrive at Erythræ—The site—Islets—Remains.

Beyond Clazomene the peninsula, becoming very mountainous, with narrow and difficult passes, affords many places of refuge, inaccessible, or easily defended. Hence the kara-borniotes, or inhabitants of the southern cape of the gulf, were long infamous as pirates and robbers, and had the general character of a very bad people. We were now told, that their manners were changed, and their disposition less ferocious and inhuman; that they attend to the culture of the vine, and the management of the silk-worm, and frequent the market of Smyrna with the produce. We thought it prudent, however, to increase our guard, and hire another janizary, intending to go to Erythræ, now corruptly called Ritre, and reckoned eight hours distant.

We set out from Vourla early in the morning, and in an

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hour, after crossing a small promontory, came to the bottom of a deep bay, which, with an island in it, is almost land-locked, lying immediately within the cape. We then ascended a ridge of Mount Mimas; and, passing a stream, entered on a rugged narrow track between very lofty cliffs, and by the side of a water-course frightfully steep. We were engaged in this strait four hours, our baggage-horses falling, or being jammed with their burthens, where the rocks projected. At length we arrived in view of a plain deep-sunk among the hills, which surround it. Before us was a grey ridge seen at Smyrna; and a little on the left, a top of the island Scio; behind us were the two white conical summits of mount Corax, called *The Brothers*, which serve as a sea-direction in navigating the gulf. We descended to Cerhardam, a Turkish village, where we alighted about three in the afternoon. We had proposed passing the night here, as our men and horses were weary, but could get neither lodging nor corn.

After dining beneath a tree, we continued our journey across a ridge to Cadoagi, a small place near an hour farther on. Here we had our tent pitched, for the first time, within an inclosure by a cottage, and slept in it. Our bedding was a small carpet, mattress, and coverlet. Each had by his side a gun, sword, and a pair of loaded pistols. The Swiss guarded the mouth of the tent. The nights were as yet cold, and our janizary was provided with a cloak of a dark colour, shaggy, and very thick, made without a seam, with a cape, or rather cowl, for his head. Wrapped in this, he lay down like Diomed in his bull-skin, in the open air, with his pistol and sabre by him, and his gun in his hand. Our other attendants were likewise dispersed, mostly on the ground, round about the tent, armed as by day; and

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one of the Armenians watched the horses, which were fastened to stakes with their saddles on.

At the dawn of day we rose, and a table-cloth was spread on the ground, when we breakfasted on dried figs, bread, butter, which we carried with us, and garlic; drinking wine or water, and a cup of coffee. In the mean time our men struck the tent, and got reay our baggage. The sun only began to appear on the mountain-top, and a low shining mist, like water, concealed the valley beneath us, when we began our journey; travelling over and between the wild ridges of Mount Mimas. In two hours we came to a vale, well watered, and stored with myrtles and ever-greens. Here we observed some pieces of an ancient wall, which had been erected across it; and, after passing the ruin of a mosque, which has a sepulchral inscription fixed over the door-way, an opening afforded us a view of the site of Erythræ, of the sea, and of the island Scio. We entered at a gap in the ruins of the city wall, where we supposed a gate-way to have been; and finding no shade, pitched our tent on a green spot, extending it as a wide umbrella to shelter us from the sun, then shining exceedingly bright and powerful.

The walls of Erythræ were erected on two semicircular rocky brows, and had square towers at regular distances. They were very thick, the stones massive and rugged, the masonry is called *Pseudisodomum*. In the middle is a shallow lively stream, clear as chrystal, which turns a solitary mill in its way, through thickets of myrtle and bushes, to the sea. This rivulet was anciently named Aleos, and was remarkable for producing hair on the bodies of those who drank

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of it.* Near the mouth is a piece of ordinary mosaic pavement. By a conical hill, on the north, are vestiges of an ample theatre in the mountain-side; and, farther on, by the sea, three pedestals of white marble. Beyond these is an old square fortress standing on a low spot, a little inland; and by it was a short sepulchral inscription. We searched in vain for a temple of Hercules, which has been mentioned as one of the highest antiquity, and as resembling the temples of Egypt. The god was represented on a float, on which they related that he arrived at Erythræ from Phœnicia.†

Before the port of Erythræ are four islets, once called Hippi, *the Horses;* and beyond these are the Spalmadore islands, by which we sailed, in our stormy passage from Scio to Kara-bornu. A promontory of Mount Mimas beyond Erythræ was named Coryna; and one near mid-way sailing toward Scio, Hera Mesate. The shore winds, and forms several bays.

Erythræ has been long deserted, and, like Clazomene, stripped even of its ruins, except some masses of hard cement, a few vaults of sepulchres, a fragment of inscribed architrave, a broken column or two, and a large stone, on which is carved a round shield. The bare rock afforded a natural foundation for the houses and public edifices; and the materials, when they were ruined, lay ready to be transported to Scio and other places, which continue to flourish. Some words were visible on one of the pedestals. We would have cleared them all from weeds and rubbish, which concealed their inscriptions; but our guide had affirmed, that we

* Pliny, l. 31. x. † Pausanias, p. 210.

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could not pass the night here without danger; our horses were standing ready, and we had no time to spare.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the peninsula—Chismé—Mount Corycus—Mount Mimas—End of the peninsula—At Segigeck—Antiquities—Cranes.

ERYTHRÆ was about mid-way in the periplus, or circumnavigation of the peninsula. It had to the north a village named Cybellia, and the cape, by which was a quarry, dug for mill-stones. The lofty mountain to the south was called Corycus, and its promontory Argennum. This ran out toward Posidium, a promontory of Chios, from which it was separated by a strait, about sixty stadia, or seven miles and a half wide. In Corycus a cave was shewn, in which they said the sibyl Herophile was born. Its coast had several ports, and was much infested by pirates and robbers. After Corycus was Geræ, a small town of the Teians by the port, north of their city. The third tribe of the Erythréans had its name from a region called Chalcitis, peopled with Chalcidensians; and the sea-baths, by a cape of that district, were esteemed superior to any in Ionia.

We had been told that at Chismé, a town since noted for the destruction of the Turkish navy by the Russians, and distant about five hours from Erythræ, were spacious and handsome baths erected by the Genoese. We had intended seeing them, but were now informed that the place was almost abandoned, the plague having been carried thither from Scio.

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Our guide, at setting out, conducted us to the shore; and, winding southward, we ascended a lofty ridge of Mount Corycus, from which we had an extensive view of the coast, of the channel of Scio, and of the gulf of Smyrna. *The Brothers* were before us, and behind us Chismé. The mountain was covered with low shrubs. We then descended to the station of some goatherds, guarded by several large and fierce dogs. In three hours and a half we came unexpectedly to the village on Mount Mimas, where we lay the preceding night.

The valley beneath us, and the side of the mountain, were again enveloped in thick shining mist, when we began our journey; and, keeping along the southern edge of a plain, re-ascended Mount Mimas, which the ancients have described as woody, and abounding in wild beasts. The slopes here were clothed with pines and shrubs, and garnished with flowers, many of a bright yellow, resembling small single pinks. The hogs had rooted up the green corn in several places. At noon we came to the bay, which we passed in going to Erythræ; and, striking off to the right, dismounted to dine under some shady trees by a copious fountain. We had suffered much from the sun, and were greatly fatigued.

After enjoying awhile the luxury of cool water and shade, we continued our journey, leaving Vourla and the villages on our left hand. As we crossed the mountain, the island Samos rose to view at a distance, and we opened the sea on the south side of the peninsula. We passed many small pleasant spots, well watered, and green with corn, or with myrtles and shrubs. We descended from Mount Mimas by a road cut in the rock, which anciently divided the Ery-

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thréan territory from the Clazomenian. Here the peninsula ends. The way from hence, or from the beginning of the isthmus on the south, to Clazomene, was over Mount Mimas to Chytrium, originally the site of that city, and now, it seems, of Vourla.

We rode on, and after three hours arrived at Segigeck, which was before us, by the head of a shining bay, land-locked, with an islet near the mouth. We were civilly received by a party of men and boys, who were gathered about the gate on our approach, and directed to the interior fortress, which was much out of repair. Here we were lodged in an apartment over the gate-way, belonging to the aga or governor, who was absent on a visit of ceremony to a superior officer, attended by most of the garrison. Our horses, servants, and baggage, were disposed in the area, or court below.

Segigeck is a large square ordinary fortress, erected, it is said, by the Genoese, on a flat; with a few brass cannon toward the sea. It was anciently called Geræ, was the port of the city Teos toward the north, and had been peopled with Chalsidensians, who arrived under Geres. It incloses some mean mud-built houses. In the wall next the water are several inscribed marbles, the colour a blue-grey, transported from Teos. Another is fixed in a fountain without the south gate. In the hot bath are two large fragments placed upside down, and serving for seats, which I examined, but hastily, fearing some infection, as the plague was known to be near. All these have been published by the learned Chishull. By a mosque and in the burying-grounds are some scattered fragments, and a sepulchral inscription* or

* Inscript. Ant. p. 6.

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two. This place is reckoned eight hours from Smyrna. A view of it is given in the *Ionian Antiquities*.

The cranes were now arrived at their respective quarters, and a couple had made their nest, which is bigger in circumference than a bushel, on a dome close by our chamber. This pair stood, side by side, with great gravity, shewing no concern at what was transacting beneath them, but at intervals twisting about their long necks, and clattering with their beaks turned behind them upon their backs, as it were in concert. This was continued the whole night. An owl, a bird also unmolested, was perched hard by, and as frequently hooted. The crane is tall, like a heron, but much larger; the body white, with black pinions, the neck and legs very long, the head small, and the bill thick. The Turks call it friend and brother, believing it has an affection for their nation, and will accompany them into the countries they shall conquer. In the course of our journey, we saw one hopping on a wall with a single leg, the maimed stump wrapped in linen.

CHAP. XXVII.

Situation of Teos—Remains—The port, &c.—The temple of Bacchus—Teos deserted—A Venetian vessel.

SEGIGECK stands on the north side of the isthmus of a small rough peninsula, which extends westward, and terminates in a sharp low point. This perhaps was the cape once called Macria, by which were the baths of the Teians, some on the shore in a cavity of the rock, or natural, and some

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made by art, and from ostentation. Teos was thirty stadia, or three miles and three quarters from Geræ, and fronted the sea on the south side. It was equidistant from Erythræ and Chios, sixty one miles and a half from each by the coast.

In the morning we crossed the isthmus to Teos, now called Bodrun. We found this city almost as desolate as Erythræ and Clazomene. The walls, of which traces are extant, were, as we guessed, about five miles in circuit; the masonry handsome. Without them, by the way, are vaults of sepulchres stripped of their marble, as it were forerunners of more indistinct ruin. Instead of the stately piles, which once impressed ideas of opulence and grandeur, we saw a marsh, a field of barley in ear, buffaloes ploughing heavily by defaced heaps and prostrate edifices, high trees supporting aged vines, and fences of stones and rubbish, with illegible inscriptions, and time-worn fragments. It was with difficulty we discovered the temple of Bacchus, but a theatre in the side of the hill is more conspicuous. The vault only, on which the seats ranged, remains, with two broken pedestals in the area. It fronted 15m. west of south.

The city-port is partly dry, and sand banks rise above the surface of the water. On the edge are vestiges of a wall, and before it are two small islets. On the left hand, or toward the continent, is a channel, which seemed artificial, the water not deep. I saw a boy wade across it. This, unless it be the mouth of a rivulet, was probably cut; for it seems as necessary to the completion of Alexander's plan, that a communication should have been made between the sea here and the bay of Geræ, as between that and the gulf of Smyrna; and it is remarkable that Pliny reckons Teos among the islands. Beyond it, on the shore before

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Sevri-hissar, which stands inland, are four or five tall barrows.

The heap of the temple of Bacchus, which was visible from the theatre, beneath, on the right hand, lay in the middle of a corn field, and is over-run with bushes and olive trees. It was one of the most celebrated structures in Ionia. The remains of it have been engraved, at the expense of the society of *Dilettanti*, and published with its history, in the *Ionian Antiquities*; and a beautiful portico has since been erected at the seat of the Right Hon. Lord Le Despenser, near High Wycomb, under the inspection of Mr. Revett, in which the exact proportions of the order are observed.

The town has long been deserted. It has no ruins of churches to prove it existed under the Greek emperors; nor of mosques or baths, to shew it was frequented by the Turks. In the time of Anacreon, the Teians migrated, from a love of liberty, to Thrace, but soon afterwards came back, and the city re-flourished. They are now utterly gone, and it is likely never to return. The site is a wilderness; and the low grounds, which are wet, produce the iris, or flag, blue and white. This flower is stamped on the money of Teos. We saw cranes here stalking singly in the corn and grass, and picking up and gorging insects and reptiles; or flying heavily with long sticks in their mouths to the tops of trees, and of the remoter houses and chimnies, on which they had agreed to fix their habitation.

The master of a Venetian snow, in the harbour of Segigeck, furnished us with a small quantity of wine, but of a poor quality; otherwise we should have drunk only water on a spot once sacred to Bacchus, and able to supply a Roman

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fleet. The grave Turk, its present owner, predestines the clusters of the few vines it now bears, for his food, when ripened; or to be dried in the sun, as raisins, for sale.

CHAP. XXVIII.

To Sevri-hissar—Quarries of marble—The town—The Dionysiasts, &c.

Our apprehensions of danger from the Kara-borniotes were now at an end. We dismissed the janizary, whom we had engaged at Vourla, and on the evening of the second day after our arrival, proceeded to Sevri-hissar, distant one hour south-eastward. We came, soon after leaving Segigeck, between two conical rocks, one of a green aspect, the other brown and bare. The tall trees by the road-side were covered with spreading vines, and at a well was a marble pedestal perforated, and serving as a mouth. The front of it is inscribed with large characters,* and it once supported the statue of a great and munificent person, whose name it has not preserved.

The grey marble used by the Teians was found at no great distance from the city. The rocks above-mentioned are probably remains of the quarry, to which also the high rocky mount, about a mile north of Teos, seen in the view in the *Ionian Antiquities*, belonged. This, as Pococke relates, has, on the west-side, a small lake in a deep basin, which, it is imagined by the people, feeds all the fountains about

* Inscript. Ant. p. 7.

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the country; and to the south of the lake is a hollow ground, where are near twenty large pieces of grey marble, each cut out into several steps, of a size which would be very difficult to move. On one he saw inscribed, LOCO IIII.

Sevri-hissar is an extensive straggling town, in a valley, two hours from the sea; and may be deemed the Vourla of the Teians. The country round it is pleasant and well cultivated. The Greeks, though numerous, have no church. We were lodged in a wretched mud-built khan, by which is a lively brook, running west-north-westward. A stone bridge has been erected over it, and several piers remain. We had crossed it more than once on the way from Segigeck. We had here reason to dislike, and to be alarmed, at the carriage of some of our Turkish visitants, but the janizary was our safe-guard.

Many scattered remnants of the ancient city occur at Sevri-hissar.* One, fixed in the wall of a house, mentions the two societies, the Panathenaists and the Dionysiasts. At the time of the Ionic migration, a colony of Athenians took possession of Teos. These appear to have introduced the Panathenæa, the grand festival of their parent city. A crown of olive encircles the name of the community, which had the care of its celebration; and one of ivy that of the Dionysiasts, who were artificers, or contractors for the Asiatic theatres, incorporated and settled at Teos under the kings of Pergamum.† I copied a long decree made by one of their companies in honour of its magistrates. The slab was placed as a grave-stone in a Turkish burying-ground, where the man, who shewed it me, with some assistance, laid it

* Strabo, p. 643. † Inscript. Ant. p. 7, 8, 10.

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flat, and a heavy shower falling, rendered the characters, which are large, and uninjured, easily legible. The thanks of the community, with a crown of olive, are given as a recompense for their great liberality and trouble in office; and to perpetuate their memory, and excite an emulation of their merit, it is besides enacted, that the decrees be engraved, but at their expense: so desirable was this testimony to the individuals, and so frugal the usage in bestowing it.

CHAP. XXIX.

We arrive at Hypsile—The Myonnesus—Hypsile a strong-hold.

The next day, April the 1st, in the afternoon, the weather proving fair, we continued our journey southward; and, soon after setting out, had a low mountain on our left hand, with an opening in it, and a wide, but dry watercourse, which we crossed, and then passed over hills and dales by small inclosures, regularly planted with oaks. Many of these supported vines, and between the rows was barley in ear and other grain. The valanéa, or large acorns, which they produce, are exported, chiefly to Italy, where the tanners use them instead of bark. Coming to the shore, we turned a little to the left, and ascended a very lofty hill, commanding a most extensive view of a picturesque country, of the sea-coast, and islands. Near the top is a fountain, and over it a stone, on which is cut the Greek cross. We alighted, after a pleasant ride of three hours, at Hypsile,

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and were very well lodged in a large apartment, in a house belonging to a Turk of Sevri-hissar.

We are now on the promontory, anciently called Myonnesus,* between Teos and Lebedus. The summit has been described as conical, and standing on an ample base. It was accessible from the continent by a narrow track only, and was terminated toward the sea by wave-worn rocks, hanging over, and in some places projecting beyond the vessels, to which it furnished a safe station below. The Myonnesus was the property of the Teians.

Hypsile is a small village. The name, which is Greek, denotes its lofty situation. It was the strong-hold, to which Cineis, whom we have mentioned in a preceding chapter, retired before the army of Sultan Morat, and which he maintained gallantly, until his men began to mutiny. After surrendering, he was murdered here, sleeping in his tent.

CHAP. XXX.

Hot waters—In the territory of Lebedus—Some ruins—Lebedus—The island Aspis—The Dionysiasts.

We left Hypsile at eight in the morning, and in about an hour descended into a narrow bottom, which was filled with a thick smoke or mist, occasioned, as we discovered on a nearer approach, by steam arising from a small tepid brook, called Elijah; the bed of a deep green colour. The current, which tasted like copperas, is confined in a narrow

* In D'Anville's chart, *Psili-bouroun*, corruptly for *Hypsilobounos, The High Mountain.*

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channel below, and turns two over-shot mills, falling soon after into a stream, then shallow, but flowing from a rich vale between the mountains, in a very wide course; the bed, of stone and white sand.

We are now in the territory of Lebedus, which was noted, beyond any on the sea-coast, for hot waters. These are on record as plentiful, beneficial to the human race, and exciting admiration. The stream now supplies two mean baths on the margin, one with a large cross carved on a stone in the pavement, and chiefly used by the Greeks.

From the baths we were conducted to some ruins called Ecclesia, *The Church*, about half an hour distant, on the same side of the river, and beneath the mountain we had descended, or Myonnesus. They consisted of naked masses of stone and of brick, with cement, besides a very few marble fragments; and a basement, with the entire floor of a small temple; the whole environed with bushes. I rode on about a quarter of a mile to the sea, but found no port or other vestiges of buildings.

We returned to the road, and crossing a cultivated plain, with a stream or two, came in an hour and a half to the sea, and a little peninsula sown with wheat. It has a fair beach, and probably is the spot on which Lebedus stood. By the rocky edge are traces of ancient wall; and, within it, besides rubbish, are some pieces of doric columns. This city enjoyed a fertile territory, but was subverted by Lysimachus, who removed the inhabitants, when he peopled Ephesus, to the sea. It survived long as a village, and became, as it were, proverbial for its solitude. It is now untenanted, and not even a village.

Strabo has mentioned an island called Aspis, and by

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some Arconnesus, between Teos and Lebedus; that, I suppose, which bore by our compass 68m west of south from this spot, and which Pococke describes as a long island, about the middle of the bay, stretching to the south-west, and now called Carabash, *The Black Sash*, from some imaginary resemblance. It is omitted in D'Anville's chart of the sea-coast of Asia Minor.

The Dionysiasts, mentioned in a preceding chapter, proving turbulent and seditious, were expelled Teos. They removed to Ephesus, and from thence were translated by king Attalus to Myonnesus. The Teians sent an embassy to the Romans, requesting them not to suffer the Myonnesus to be fortified; and the Dionysiasts then removed to Lebedus, where they were received with joy. It was the custom of their synod to hold yearly a general assembly, at which they sacrificed to the gods, and poured libations to their deceased benefactors. They likewise celebrated games in honour of Bacchus. The crowns, which any of the communities had bestowed as rewards of merit, were announced by heralds; and the wearers applauded. It was the business of the presidents to provide splendid entertainments, and the meeting was solemnized with great pomp and festivity. This congress, it is probable, was held at the ruins described above, and that temple dedicated to the god, their patron.

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CHAP. XXXI.

We cross a torrent—Ascend Mount Gallesus—Arrive at Zillé, or Claros—Remains—Of the oracle and temple of Apollo—Of the oracular fountain and cave—Of Colophon, Notium, and Claros—No remains of the two former—We arrive at Ephesus.

Lebedus was equi-distant one hundred and twenty stadia, or fifteen miles, from Teos and from Colophon, near which city was Claros. We proceeded with an islet in view before us, once sacred to Diana. It was anciently believed that does, when big, swam across from the continent, and were there delivered of their young. Our guide mistook the track, and conducted us an hour out of our way. We passed through lanes, olive-groves, and corn. In two hours and a half we were suddenly stopped by a wide and very turbid river, descending from between Mount Gallesus or *The Alemán*, and the southern extremity of Mount Corax, the range, which had continued on our left hand from near Teos. It is impossible perhaps to conceive greater visible rapidity, the water hurrying by with so precipitous and headlong a course, it was gone like an arrow from a bow. Our guide, after some hesitation, entered the stream, which proved shallow, reaching only to the belly of his horse. We were apprehensive a low mule, heavily laden with baggage, would be carried away, but it struggled through, and we all got over safe. We tarried the night at a village an hour farther on, high on the mountain side, and overlooking a rich plain and the sea, to the island of Samos.

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In the morning, the wind, which had been northerly for some time, was very cutting. We rode among the roots of Gallesus, through pleasant thickets abounding with goldfinches. The aërial summits of this immense mountain towered on our left, clad with pines. We turned from the sea, and began to ascend a rough track between green hills; a clear stream falling by in murmuring cascades. At a distance was a village, which appeared almost in the clouds. Steep succeeded steep, as we advanced, and the path became more narrow, slippery, and uneven. We were instructed to let our bridle be loose, to sit steady, and to prevent the saddle from sliding back by grasping the manes of our horses, while they clambered up; their known sureness of foot was our confidence and security by fearful precipices and giddy heights; where, if, from being checked or by accident, they chance to fall, down you tumble many a fathom, without one friendly bush or shrub to interpose, and contribute to your preservation. After much labour and straining, we got to the top of the ridge, which is exceedingly high. Here we found the surface bare, except a few pines on one summit, beneath which some miserable cattle were standing, seemingly pinched with hunger, and ruminating on the wretchedness of their lot. We saw at a distance a vast body of water encompassed with hills, being the lake or reservoir, from which the numerous rills and rivulets on the sides of the mountain are fed. Farther in the country was a white top glistening with snow; and nearly before us, a summit remarkably craggy, which is by the lake of Myûs, and will be often mentioned. Several of our horses were lamed in this journey to the sky, which was attended with many moanings from the Armenians, their owners.

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Descending Gallesus, we suddenly discovered near the bottom some mean huts, immediately beneath us, on the declivity. We inquired of the inhabitants, who were Greeks, for ruins, and they directed us to Claros, now called Zillé, by the sea. We crossed a brook, which is in the middle of a cultivated vale, and entered a thick grove of olives, where some armed men started up from under a tree, and, running to the road, stopped our servants and baggage-horses. The janizary, as soon as we perceived it, galloped back, and a short parley ensued. We were informed they belonged to the Muselém, a Turkish officer of great power and extensive command, residing at Chili, distant an hour and a half toward Smyrna. Cara-Elez-Oglu then possessed that high dignity. He was famous as an excellent governor, and remarkable for his civility to the Franks or Europeans. We continued our journey to Zillé, which is by computation four hours from Goomulderú, where we lay; we arrived in six.

We were apprised of our approach to Zillé, or Claros, by vestiges of ancient sepulchres on the mountain side, close by the way, on our left hand. One which was hewn in the rock, has a narrow door-way leading into it; and within, a long horizontal niche or cavity, transverse, for the body. Farther on, and higher up, is a well of fine water; then full to the brim, and overflowing. This ridge is separated by a narrow vale from a small rocky promontory, which is encompassed with a ruinous wall of rough stone, the masonry that termed *Pseudisodomum*. We rode in at a gap or gate-way, and found a theatre of the same brown material as the wall, many pieces of marble, wells, and remnants of churches; and besides these, an imperfect time-eaten heap of a large temple,

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We had a distinct view of Aiasalúck, the plain of Ephesus, and the town of Scala Nova.

Claros was very early the seat of a temple and oracle of Apollo. It is related, that Chalchas, after the destruction of Troy, had an interview there with the prophet Mopsus, and died of grief on finding he was excelled in his profession.

The person, who sustained this high office, could be taken only from particular families, and was generally of Miletus, unlettered, and ignorant of composition. He was told only the number and names of the consulters; and then descended into a cave, in which was a fissure with water. After drinking of this spring, he uttered responses in verses made on the subject, on which each had thought in his own mind; but this practice was prejudicial to his health, perhaps from the dampness of the place, and he was commonly short-lived. He got by rote, I conceive, or else carried down with him, the answers ready prepared; and the god would have soon lost his reputation, had the consulters been so cunning as to have kept every one his secret from the agents and spies employed to dive into their business. The temple, which was unfinished, with the sacred grove of ash-trees, is mentioned by Pausanius among the curiosities peculiar to Ionia. It is not certain whether the oracle existed after Constantine the Great; or, when Apollo was finally silenced and dethroned; but Christianity succeeded, and has flourished in its turn at Claros.

In viewing the well on the ridge before-mentioned, I remarked it had marble steps leading down from the top; and four or five were visible below the surface. The water, which, as a peasant with me affirmed, is very deep, obscured

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the remainder. There, it may be conjectured, was the prophetic fountain and cave. The passage, by which the waste current was conveyed away, has been choked from neglect or by design; and the water being confined, has filled the hollow of the rock, and the entrance to it, rising until it had liberty to escape over the margin. The superstitious use ceased with the reverence for Apollo; men unhallowed drinking of it without feeling inspiration or dreading punishment; and, perhaps, to promote a popular oblivion of the place, the enemies of the god, who destroyed his temple and grove, devised the present alteration, by the easy and obvious method of converting the cave into a reservoir.

Colophon was situated inland. Before it, besides Claros, was Notium, a town and haven bearing the same relation to it as the Piræus did to Athens, and distant near two miles. It is termed the Calophonian Notium, to distinguish it from that of Chios, a portion of the coast of the island, with a road for vessels. Colophon was only seventy stadia, or eight miles and three quarters from Ephesus in a straight course; but, by the windings of the bays, one hundred and twenty stadia, or fifteen miles. Lysimachus destroyed it, to enlarge that city; but some of the Colophonians remained at Notium, to whom the Romans granted immunities after their war with Antiochus. The Halys or Halesus ran by Colophon; and then, not far from the grove of Claros. The stream was colder than any in Ionia, and celebrated for that quality by the elegiac poets. Going out of Colophon, on the left of the road, after you had passed the Calaon, perhaps a brook running into the Halys, was shewn the burying-place of Andrémon, one of the leaders in the Ionic migration; and, on the same side of the road, in the way to

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Claros, that of the Smyrnéans and Colophonians, who fell fighting with the Macedonians under Lysimachus.*

Many difficulties have arisen† concerning Claros, Notium, and Colophon, which are removed by this account of their proximity and mutual connexion. Colophon was sacrificed to the grandeur of its neighbour Ephesus. The name, as at Lebedus, survived, but without its pristine importance; and Notium suffered, as it were, by sympathy. Religion and Apollo interposed to rescue Claros, and the concourse of consulters, and devotees, maintained it and the temple. But now Colophon, if its site be not occupied by the wretched huts before-mentioned, is extinct; and Claros, with Notium, has been long abandoned. The brook we crossed was the Halys. The vale on the north-side of the promontory, which it divides, has perhaps increased toward the sea, and the old haven has been filled up by soil washed from the mountains.

When we had finished our survey of Claros, we returned to some huts, and pitching our tent, lay surrounded with our baggage, men, and horses. In the morning early we passed by Zillé, and over two ridges of Gallesus. We then entered on the plain of Ephesus, and travelled along the edge toward the shore, until we came to the mouth of a lake, at which was a weir of reeds, and a bridge of three arches; but of one, more than half was broken away. My companions, with our men, crossed below it by the sea, but seeing the water deep, I dismounted and walked over. The lake is long, and extended close by us on our left almost to the river Cayster, near which we turned up from the beach.

* Pausanias, p. 208. † See Cellarius, p. 47, 48.

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We discovered soon after a fisherman's hut between the lake and the river. We were ferried over the latter in a triangular float; and in three hours arrived at Ephesus. We pitched our tent among the ruins, which are at a distance from Aiasalúck.

We had been here before, and shall now give an account of that journey.

CHAP. XXXII.

Distance of Ephesus from Smyrna—To Sedicui—To the sources of a river—To Tourbali—Of the Turcoman—Their booths—To the Cayster—Arrive at Aiasalúck—Relation of a journey in 1705.

The two cities Ephesus and Smyrna have been termed the eyes of Asia Minor. They were distant from each other three hundred and twenty stadia, or forty miles in a straight line. On the road, one hundred and twenty from Ephesus, was a town called Metropolis. Aiasalúck is now reckoned fourteen hours from Smyrna.

We left the consul's house on Sunday, the last day of September, in the forenoon, and passing the river Meles, rode with the castle hill of Smyrna on our right hand, to a gap in the wall of the pomœrium. We crossed the bed of the torrent, and soon arrived at Sedicui, a small but pleasant village, about two hours distant. We passed the night at a house, which Mr. Lee, who had accompanied us, rented of a Turk; the asylum, where afterwards we had refuge from the plague and Smyrna.

We were on horseback again at five in the morning, be-

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fore day-break, going southward. A string of camels was in motion at the same time, the foremost with a bell fastened about his neck, and tinkling. The dawn soon after began to disclose the blue tops of the mountains, and the sun rising coloured the sky with a rich variety of tints. The air was soft and fragrant. We passed by an ordinary bridge or two over water courses, then dry; and, through a wet bottom, and a heath covered with pines, wild thyme, and many large thickets of myrtle in flower. On the slopes of the mountains were several villages. We dismounted about eight at a coffee-shed standing by the side of the road near a hut, called Olalanazzi. One of the rivers, which we crossed in travelling along the coast, rises there from four heads. The streams soon unite in a clear brook, and wind in the shade over a clean gravelly bed, with gentle cascades and a pleasing murmur. In it were many small fishes and tortoises. Each source is enveloped with bushes of myrtle, intermixed with plane-trees; and the hut is between two, about fifty yards asunder. The agreeable freshness and verdure produced by these lively currents, afford a most grateful relief to the thirsty sun-burnt traveller. That the ancient Ionians were not insensible to the charms of the spot, may be inferred from the vestiges of building near it, and from the remnants of marble.

After drinking coffee we went on, and entering a hollow way shaded with pines, came in view of a ruined caravansará, or building for the reception of travellers, near an extensive plain. Here a stream descends through a pleasant vale, in which are some scattered cottages, named Terrenda, with a mill, by which we dined on a green plat, when we returned.

Among the low bushes, on a gentle rising close by, are

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some marble fragments; and, searching about, we found by the road an inscription,† which has belonged to an ancient sepulchre. It was well cut, on a square stone, and perhaps near the site of the edifice. At ten we passed by Hortená, a straggling village. On the left hand is a small Turkish burying ground by a fountain, and vestiges of building. We arrived an hour after at Tourbali, where we dined by a well near the khan under a spreading tree, and were much incommoded by dust and wind. The roof of the stable was supported by broken columns, and in the wall was a piece of doric frieze, with some fragments removed, it is likely, from the ruins of Metropolis.

We were told here, that the road farther on was beset with Turcomans; a people supposed to be descended from the Nomades, Scythæ, or *Shepherd Scythians;* busied, as of old, in breeding and nurturing cattle; and leading, as then, an unsettled life; not forming villages and towns with stable habitations, but flitting from place to place, as the season and their convenience directs; chusing their stations, and overspreading without control, the vast neglected pastures of this desert empire. These wanderers were early a nuisance to the Greeks, and in a treaty with one of the sultans, the emperor requires him to punish as many of them as were his subjects, and had trespassed on their territories.‡ They are there said to live by theft and robbery, an article in which likewise the uniformity of character has been preserved. They vary in savageness and violence, as the respective clans happen to be, more or less, humanized by social intercourse, and attention to civil life.

† Inscript. Ant. p. 11. ‡ Cinnamus, l. 4. p. 225.

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The aga of Tourbala, and our Armènians, would have persuaded us to stay until the next morning, but as it was not yet noon, we resolved to go on. The aga then appointed a Turk to accompany us as a guide and safe-guard, asserting that he was responsible to Elez-Oglu, if any stranger suffered on that road. We set out, and had on our right Depueci, a village, in which we could discern a large, square, ruinous edifice, with spaces for windows. Soon after we came to a wild country covered with thickets, and with the black booths of the Turcomans, spreading on every side, innumerable, with flocks, and herds, and horses, and poultry, feeding round them. We crossed an extensive level plain, over-run with bushes, but missed Metropolis, of which some vestiges remain;† our guide leading us to the left of the direct road from Smyrna to Ephesus.

About three o'clock we approached a valley, which divides two very lofty mountains. The extremity of Gallesus, or *The Alemán*, which was on our right, is covered with trees, rising beautifully in regular gradation up the slope. The other, opposite to it, is quite bare and naked. We now perceived four men riding briskly toward us, abreast, well mounted and armed. Our janizary and Armenians halted, as they passed, and faced about until they were gone beyond our baggage. We came soon after to a fountain, and a coffee hut, above which, on the mountain-side, is Osbenár, a Turkish village We then discovered on our left a ruined bridge, and the river Cayster, which met us again at four, the water still and apparently stagnant, the banks steep. A castle, visible afar off, stands on the summit of Gallesus.

† See Wheler and Chishull.

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We turned westward at the end of the opening between the mountains, and had on our left a valley, bounded by a mountain called anciently Pactyas. The road lay at the foot of Gallesus, beneath precipices of a stupendous height, abrupt and inaccessible. In the rock are many holes inhabited by eagles; of which several were soaring high in the air, with rooks and crows clamouring about them so far above us, as hardly to be discernible. By the way was a well, and part of a marble sarcophagus, or coffin, on which were carved heads and festoons. The Cayster, which had been concealed in the valley, now appeared again; and we had in view before us the round hill and stately castle of Aiasalúck, very seasonably for man and horse, both jaded with heat and wanting rest. Mount Pactyas here retires with a circular sweep, while Gallesus preserves its direction to the sea, which is the western boundary of the plain. This has been computed five miles long. The Cayster met us near the entrance on it; and we passed over an ordinary bridge, a little below which are pieces of veined marble, polished, the remnants of a structure more worthy Ephesus. The stream was shallow, but formed a basin crossed by a weir of reeds. We purchased some live mullet of the fisherman who was there. A narrow track, winding through rubbish and loose stones round the castle-hill, brought us in about half an hour more to Aiasalúck.

I shall insert here an account of a journey to Aiasalúck in 1705, from an imperfect dairy,* found among Chishull's

* In the possession of John Loveday, Esq. of Caversham, near Reading.

The other gentlemen were the Rev. John Tiffer, chaplain to the English factory; and Cutts Lockwood, and John Lethieullier, two capital merchants, of great spirit and generosity.

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papers, written in Latin by Dr. Antony Picenini, a Grison, who happened to be then at Smyrna, joined in company with consul Sherrard, and other gentlemen of the English nation. They set out on the 13th of August, at four in the afternoon, and, passing through the plain of Bujaw, came about five to a little hill, and a rivulet then dry; and, after riding about three hours, pitched their tents by a small village, called Sinofocheli. They set out again the next morning before six, through an uncultivated plain; and after two hours crossed a narrow but deep stream, which he calls Halesus; going on in this plain, the road good, they observed, in less than two hours, some vestiges of an aqueduct reaching toward a village on their left; where also were ruins on a hill. A wide paved way led through cultivated fields to the mountain-foot, toward the left, where they halted to rest about noon in a wood. They had seen fragments of columns and other remains of Metropolis. They proceeded at three, and soon had the Cayster on their left, and the castle on the precipice in view. This was then called Kezel-hissar, *The Castle of the Goats*, perhaps as scarcely accessible but to those animals. They turned, as we did, westward; and at six arrived at Aiasalúck in thirteen hours from Smyrna.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Aiasalúck—The evening—Remains—The castle—The mosque—The aqueduct—An ancient bridge.

AIASALUCK is a small village, inhabited by a few Turkish families, standing chiefly on the south side of the castle-hill, among thickets of tamarisk and ruins. It was dusk when

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we alighted, lamenting the silence and complete humiliation, as we conceived, of Ephesus. The caravanserá, to which we had been directed, was exceedingly mean and wretched. A marble coffin, freed from the human dust, served as a water-trough to a well in the front. Some figures holding Roman ensigns have been carved on it; and, as we learn from the inscription,* it once contained the bodies of a captain of a trireme, named the Griffin, together with his wife. Close by, some tall camels, just arrived, stood pensive; or with their knees tied, to prevent their rising from the ground, mildly waited the removal of their burthens.

The caravanserá being full, we were distressed for a place to lodge in, but after some time a Turk offered us a shed by his cottage, open to the south-east, the roof and sides black with smoke. Some martens had made their nests against the rafters; and we were told, their visits were deemed to portend good, and that the Turks wished them to frequent their apartments, leaving a passage for their admission. Our horses were disposed among the walls and rubbish, with their saddles on; and a mat was spread for us on the ground. We sate here, in the air, while supper was preparing; when suddenly, fires began to blaze up among the bushes, and we saw the villagers collected about them in savage groups, or passing to and fro with lighted brands for torches. The flames, with the stars and a pale moon, afforded us a dim prospect of ruin and desolation. A shrill owl, named Cucuvaia from its note, with a night-hawk, flitted near us; and a jackall cried mournfully, as if forsaken by his companions on the mountain.

* See Hesselius, Append. ad Gudium.

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We retired early in the evening to our shed, not without some sensations of melancholy, which were renewed at the dawn of day. We had then a distinct view of a solemn and most forlorn spot; a neglected castle, a grand mosque, and a broken aqueduct, with mean cottages, and ruinous buildings, interspersed among wild thickets, and spreading to a considerable extent. Many of the scattered structures are square, with domes, and have been baths. Some grave-stones occurred, finely painted and gilded, and fairly embossed, as the Turkish manner is, with characters in relievo. But the castle, the mosque, and the aqueduct, are alone sufficient evidences, as well of the former greatness of the place, as of its importance.

The castle is a large and barbarous edifice, the wall built with square towers. You ascend to it over heaps of stones intermixed with scraps of marble. An out-work, which secured the approach, consisted of two lateral walls from the body of the fortress, with a gate-way. This faces the sea, and is supported, on each side, by a huge and awkward buttress, constructed chiefly with the seats of a theatre or stadium, many of them marked with Greek letters. Several fragments of inscriptions* are inserted in it, or lie near. Over the arch are four pieces of ancient sculpture. The two in the middle are in alto relievo, of most exquisite workmanship, and evidently parts of the same design; one, representing, it seems, the death of Patroclus; the other, plainly the bringing of his body to Achilles. The third exhibits a corpse, it is likely that of Hector, with women lamenting; is in basso relievo, not so wide, and, besides, differs so much, that

* See Hesselius.

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it can be considered as connected with the former only in having a reference to the Iliad. These were carefully drawn by Mr. Pars; and two of them, the first and last, may be seen, engraved by Bartolozzi, in Mr. Wood's Essay on Homer. The fourth is carved with boys and vine-branches, is narrower, and much injured.* Within the castle are a few huts, an old mosque, and a great deal of rubbish. If you move a stone here, it is a chance but you find a scorpion under it.

The grand mosque is situated beneath the castle, westward. The side next the foot of the hill is of stone; the remainder, of veined marble, polished. The two domes are covered with lead, and each is adorned with the Mahometan crescent. In front is a court, in which was a large fountain to supply the devout mussulman with water, for the purifications required by his law. The broken columns are remains of a portico. The three entrances of the court, the door-ways of the mosque, and many of the window-cases have mouldings in the Saracenic style, with sentences, as we supposed, from the Koran, in Arabic characters, handsomely cut. The windows have wooden frames, and are latticed with wire. The inside is mean, except the kiblé, or portion toward Mecca, which is ornamented with carving, painting, and gilding. The minaret is fallen. We found a long Greek inscription† nearly effaced, in the wall of the side next to Gallesus The fabric was raised with old materials. The large granite columns, which sustain the roof, and the marbles, are spoils from ancient Ephesus.

The aqueduct, on the opposite side of the castle-hill, reaches from the foot quite across the plain, eastward to

* See Tournefort. † See Pococke, Ins. p. 19 n. 15.

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mount Pactyas. The piers are square and tall, and many in number, with arches of brick. They are constructed chiefly with inscribed pedestals; on one of which is the name of Atticus Herodes, whose statue it has supported. We copied, or collated several, but found none which have not been published. The minute diligence of earlier collectors had been extended to the unimportant fragments, and even single words within reach, from the first to the forty-fifth pier.* The marbles yet untouched would furnish a copious and curious harvest, if accessible. The downfall of some may be expected continually, from the tottering condition of the fabric; and time and earthquakes will supply the want of ladders, for which the traveller wishes in vain at a place, where, if a tall man, he may almost overlook the houses. The water was conveyed in earthen pipes, and, it has been surmised, was that of a famous spring named Halitæa. It is now intercepted, no moisture trickling from the extremity of the duct on the mountain. The ruin abounds in snakes. We saw a very long one twisting between the stones, which are not accurately joined; and the peasants with us attacked and killed it. We likewise disturbed many cameleons and lizards, which were basking in the sun. We were in danger near the village from large fierce dogs, which the boys encouraged to worry and to attack us.

In the way from Aiasalúck to Guzel-hissar or Magnesia, *by the Mæander*, about four or five miles distant, is a narrow woody valley, with a stream, over which is an ancient bridge of three arches. Two long lines, one in Latin, the

* See Hesselius.

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other in Greek, are inscribed on it, and inform us, it was dedicated to the Ephesian Diana, the emperor Cæsar Augustus, Tiberius Cæsar his son, and to the people of Ephesus; and also that Pollio, a Roman, erected it at his own expense.* This fabric has been deformed by a subsequent addition; the three arches now sustaining six, intended to convey a current of water across the valley, probably to the aqueduct of Aiasalúck.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Aiasalúck not Ephesus—Tamerlane at Aiasalúck—History of the two places confounded—Origin of Aiasalúck—Thunder-storm—A flood.

AIASALUCK has had an affinity with Ephesus similar to that of Sevri-hissar with Teos. We found no theatre, nor stadium, nor temple. The whole was patch-work, composed of marbles and fragments removed from their original places, and put together without elegance or order. We were convinced that we had not arrived yet at Ephesus, before we discovered the ruins of that city; which are by the mountains, nearer the sea, visible from the castle-hill, and distant above half a mile.

A change in the names of places, with the new settlements, which had been established under the Turks, renders it difficult to follow Tamerlane in his marches through Asia Minor; but from Guzel-hissar, or Magnesia, by the Mæander, he

* Inscript. Ant. p. 11.

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came to Aiazlik or Aiasalúck. There also he encamped after subduing Smyrna in 1402. The events recorded of Ephesus, posterior to this date, belong, it seems, to Aiasalúck, and its citadel or castle.

Two years after the invasion by Tamerlane, Cineis, it is related, took Ephesus from Amir, sultan of Smyrna, who retired to Mantakhia, his uncle, prince of Caria. Amir, returning with six thousand men, besieged and set fire to the town. The father of Cineis, who commanded there with three thousand men, maintained the citadel while he had hopes of succour. Cineis again attacked Ephesus, and drove Amir in his turn into the citadel. These chieftains were reconciled, and Cineis by the death of Amir became a sovereign. Sultan Solyman advanced against him with a large army from Prusa, by Smyrna, to Mesaulion; where he intrenched. Cineis had prevailed on the princes of Cotyœium and Iconium, to join him at Ephesus, and the two armies were only six leagues asunder; when, apprehending treachery in his allies, he gallopped to the citadel, exhorted his brother not to give it up before the following day, and at night repaired to the camp of Solyman. The two princes retreated with their forces at sun-rise, fording the river on one side; while the sultan crossed it over a bridge, by Mount Gallesus, and entered Ephesus. The citadel is here distinguished so plainly, that a person, who has seen the places, will scarcely hesitate to pronounce that the Ephesus of Cineis, was the Aiasalúck of Tamerlane.

Aiasalúck has certainly flourished chiefly, if not solely, under the Mahometans. Its origin may with probability be referred to the thirteenth century. It is related, that Mantakhia, before-mentioned, subdued Ephesus with Caria in

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1313. He perhaps fortified this rock for a strong-hold, and the town grew under its protection. The mosque and aqueduct, as well as the castle, are great though inelegant structures. They suggest the idea, that the place has been honoured with the residence of princes, and it is likely, were erected under him and his nephew Amir. The marble materials of ancient Ephesus, then in ruins, were amassed for these buildings, which have contributed largely to the present nakedness of its site.

On the second evening of our stay at Aiasalúck, heavy clouds began to arrive apace, with a southerly wind, and to settle upon the mountains round us; when all became black and gloomy. At night frequent flashes of pale lightning, each making a momentary day, gleamed into the plain; while awful thunder, prolonged by repeated reverberations, moved solemnly along upon the summits. The explosions were near, and loud, and dreadful, far beyond any I ever heard before. Well might the devout heathen, unskilled in natural causes, ascribe to a present deity so grand an operation; and while the tremendous God drove, as he conceived, his terrible chariot through the darkness, tremble at the immense display of his power, and be filled with apprehension of his wrath.

The rain, pouring down violently in large drops, soon made its way through our slender shed, and fell plentifully on us and our bedding, tinged with soot and dirt. Our horses were without shelter, and our men in an instant wet to the skin. It held up again about ten in the morning, and we crossed the plain to the ruins of Ephesus, but soon after the thunder and rain re-commenced, and forced us to return. In the afternoon the plain was deluged with water

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from the mountains, running down like a torrent, and rendering it, in many places, impassable. The aga of Aiasalúck being absent, we visited his deputy, our men carrying, as usual, some coffee and small loaves of sugar as a present. He received us very graciously, sitting cross-legged on the roof of an old bath, which was his habitation.

CHAP. XXXV.

Ephesus—The stadium—The theatre—The odéum, &c.—The gymnasium—A street—Another—A temple—Square tower—Extent of the city—Avenues—Prion, a mountain of marble—A place of burial—The quarries, &c.

Ephesus was situated by the mountains, which are the southern boundary of the plain, and comprehended within its wall a portion of Mount Prion and of Corissus. Mount Prion is a circular hill resembling that of Aiasalúck, but much larger. Corissus is a single lofty ridge, extending northward from near Mount Pactyas and approaching Prion, then making an elbow and running westwardly toward the sea. This city as well as Smyrna was built by Lysimachus, who also enrolled its senate, and provided for its civil government.

We entered Ephesus from Aiasalúck with Mount Prion and the exterior lateral wall of a stadium, which fronted the sea, on our left hand. Going on and turning, we passed that wing of the building, and the area opened to us. We measured it with a tape, and found it six hundred and eighty seven feet long. The side next the plain was raised on vaults, and faced with the strong wall before mentioned. The opposite

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side, which overlooks it, and the upper end, both rested on the slope of the hill. The seats, which ranged in numerous rows one above another, have all been removed; and of the front only a few marbles remain with an arch,* which terminates the left wing, and was one of the avenues provided for the spectators. Upon the key-stone of the back front is a small mutilated figure. This part of the fabric was restored, or repaired, when the city had declined in splendour, and was partly ruinous; for it is composed of marbles, which have belonged to other buildings. A bass relief, rudely carved, is inserted in it; and several inscriptions, effaced, or too high to be read; besides fragments, some with Roman letters.

The preaching of St. Paul produced a tumult at Ephesus, the people rushing into the theatre, and shouting "Great is Diana." The vestiges of this structure, which was very capacious, are further on in the side of the same mountain. The seats and the ruins of the front are removed. In both wings are several architectural fragments; and prying about the side next to the stadium, we discovered an inscription† over an arch, once one of the avenues, and closed up perhaps to strengthen the fabric. It bids the reader, if he approached not the festive scene, still to be pleased with the achievements of the architect, who had saved the vast circle of the theatre; all-conquering Time having yielded to the succour he had contrived. That it is of a low age, may be inferred from the form of the characters, and from the ligatures, which render it difficult to be deciphered. The early advocates for Christianity inveighed against the fashionable diversions; but the public relish for the stage, for the athletic exercises, races,

* See a view of this arch in Le Brun, p. 31. † See Inscript. Ant. p. II.

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and spectacles, was inveterate; and the theatre, the stadium, and the like places of resort, continued to be frequented long after them, even at Ephesus.

Going on from the theatre, which had a stoa, or portico, annexed to it, as may be collected from the pedestals and bases of columns ranging along on this side, and concealed partly in the ground, you come to a narrow valley, which divides Mount Prion from Corissus. Near the entrance, in a small water-course, was a marble with an inscription, which I copied;‡ and we could discern a few letters on another stone overwhelmed with rubbish. Close by were ruins of a church, and a stone carved with the Greek cross. Within the valley, you find broken columns and pieces of marble, with vestiges of an odéum, or music-theatre, in the slope of Prion. This, which was not a large structure, is stripped of the seats, and naked. Near it are some piers with small arches, each of a single stone, almost buried in soil. It is a precept of Vitruvius, that the odéum be on the left hand coming from the theatre.

Beyond the odéum the valley opens gradually into the plain of Aiasalúck. Keeping round by Prion, you meet with vestiges of buildings, and come to the remains of a large edifice resembling that with an arcade at Troas. The top of one of the niches is painted with waves and fishes, and among the fragments lying in the front are two trunks of statues, of great size, without heads, and almost buried; the drapery, which is in both the same, remarkable. This huge building was the Gymnasium, which is mentioned as *behind* the city. We pitched our tent among its ruins, when we

‡ Inscript. Ant. p. 11.

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arrived from Claros, and were employed on it three days, in taking a plan and view. We had a letter of recommendation from a Turkish officer at Smyrna, to the aga of Aiasalúck; but, not going thither, he sent to require of us *bac-shish*, and was easily gratified. We then found the area of the stadium green with corn, and the site in general over-run with fennel in seed, the stalks strong and tall. Some traces, which, in the autumn before had been plain, were not discernible.

We return now to the entrance of the city from Aiasalúck. That street was nearly of the length of the stadium, which ranged along one side. The opposite side was composed of edifices equally ample and noble. The way was between a double colonnade, as we conjectured, from the many pedestals and bases of columns scattered there. These fabrics were all raised high above the level of the plain, and have their vaulted substructions yet entire.

This street was crossed by one leading from the plain, toward the valley before mentioned, which had on the left the front of the stadium, and the theatre, with the portico adjoining. On the right are ample substructions; and opposite to the stadium, lies a basin of white marble streaked with red, about fifteen feet in diameter, once belonging to a fountain; with some shafts of small pillars near it almost buried in earth. The ruins on this side are pieces of massive wall, which have been incrusted, as appears from holes bored for affixing the marble; and ordinary arches, of brick, among which are fragments of columns of red granite. These remains reach as far as the portico, and have behind them a morass, once the city-port. By the highest of them is the entrance of a souterrain, which extends underneath; these buildings having been erected on a low and marshy spot.

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Opposite to the portico is a vacant quadrangular space, with many bases of columns and marble fragments scattered along the edges. Here, it is probable, was the agora, or *market-place*, which in maritime towns was generally near the port; in inland, near the centre; and commonly built with colonnades. The other remains are perhaps of the arsenals, and of the public treasury, the prison, and the like buildings; which in the Greek cities were usually by the market-place.*

We are now at the end of the street, and near the entrance of the valley between Prion and Corissus. Here, turning toward the sea, you have the market-place on the right hand; on the left, the sloping side of Corissus, and presently the prostrate heap of a temple, which fronted 22m east of north. The length was about one hundred and thirty feet, the breadth eighty. The cell or nave was constructed with large coarse stones. The portico was marble, of the Corinthian order. The temple was *in Antis*, or of the Eustyle species, and had four columns between the *antæ*. We found their capitals, and also one of a pilaster. The diameter of the columns is four feet and about six inches; their length thirty-nine feet two inches, but including the base and capital forty-six feet and more than seven inches. The shafts were fluted, and though their dimensions are so great, each of one stone. The most entire of them is broken into two pieces. On the frieze was carved a bold foliage with boys. The ornaments in general are extremely rich, but much injured. This perhaps was the temple erected at Ephesus by permission of Augustus Cæsar to the god Julius, or that dedicated to Claudius Cæsar on his apotheosis.

* Vitruvius, l. i. c. 7.

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About a mile farther on is a root of Corissus, running out toward the plain, and ending in an abrupt precipice. Upon this is a square tower, one of many belonging to the city wall, and still standing. We rode to it along the mountain side, but that way is steep and slippery. Near it are remnants of some edifice. Among the bushes beneath, we found a square altar of white marble, well preserved. On the top is an offering, like a pine apple; perhaps intended to represent a species of cake. On the face a ram's head is carved, and a couple of horns filled with fruit; the ends twined together. The eminence commands a lovely prospect of the river Cayster, which there crosses the plain from near Gallesus, with a small but full stream, and with many luxuriant meanders.

The extent of the city toward the plain, on which side it was washed by the Cayster, cannot now be ascertained; but the mountainous region has preserved its boundary, the wall erected by Lysimachus, which is of excellent masonry. It may be traced from behind the stadium over Mount Prion, standing often above twenty feet high. It crossed the valley, in which is a thick piece, with a gap of a gate-way; the stones regularly placed, large, rough, and hard. From thence it ascended Mount Corissus, and is seen ranging along the lofty brow, almost entire, except near the precipice, where it ceases. On Mount Prion, which I rambled quite over, are likewise remnants of an exterior wall. This, from its direction, seems to have descended, and inclosed the Gymnasium, which was without the city; forming a pomœrium by uniting with the wall on Corissus, which begins from a precipice beyond the valley.

The avenues of the ancient cities were commonly beset

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with sepulchres. The vaults of these edifices, stripped of their marble, occur near the entrance of Ephesus from Aiasalúck, where was once a gate; and again by the Gymnasium, both on Prion and Corissus; on each side of the approach to the gate in the valley; and also about the abrupt precipice, without the city wall. The vaults along the slope of Corissus, in the way thither, shew that the Ephesians buried likewise within the city. It is recorded that a sophist of Miletus was interred in the market-place, in the principal part of Ephesus, where he had lived. The gate next the sea, was that by the precipice; from which, going on at the bottom, you come to a gap in Mount Corissus, cut, it is likely, to open a commodious way to Nepolis, now Scala Nova, and to the places on the coast. The gate toward Smyrna was probably in the plain; for the ancient road was over Gallesus.

Mount Pion, or Prion, is among the curiosities of Ionia enumerated by Pausanius.* It has served as an inexhaustible magazine of marble, and contributed largely to the magnificence of the city. Its bowels are excavated. The Ephesians, it is related, when they first resolved to provide an edifice worthy of their Diana, were met to agree on importing materials. The quarries then in use were remote, and the expense, it was foreseen, would be prodigious. At this time, a shepherd happened to be feeding his flock on the mountain, and two rams fighting, one of them missed his antagonist, and, striking the rock with his horn, broke off a crust of very white marble. He ran into the city with this specimen, which was received with excess of joy. He was

* P. 210.

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highly honoured for his accidental discovery, and finally canonized; the Ephesians changing his name from Pyxodorus to Evangelus, *The good Messenger;* and enjoining their chief magistrate, under a penalty to visit the spot, and to sacrifice to him monthly, which custom continued in the age of Augustus Cæsar.*

The author above cited mentions Prion as a mountain of a remarkable nature. He meant perhaps some property of preserving or consuming the dead, of which it has been a principal repository. In the records of our religion it is ennobled as the burying place of St. Timothy, the companion of St. Paul, and the first bishop of Ephesus, whose body was afterwards translated to Constantinople by the founder of that city, or his son Constantius, and placed with St. Luke and St. Andrew in the church of the Apostles. The story of St. John the Evangelist was deformed in an early age with gross fiction; but he also was interred at Ephesus, and, as appears from one narration, in this mountain.†

In the side of Prion, not far from the Gymnasium, are cavities with mouths, like ovens, made to admit the bodies, which were thrust in, head or feet foremost. One has an inscription on the plane of the rock, beginning, as usual, *This is the monument, &c.* The traces of numerous sepulchres may be likewise seen. Then follows, farther on, a wide aperture or two, which are avenues to the interior quarries, of a romantic appearance, with hanging precipices; and in one is the ruin of a church, of brick, the roof arched, the ceiling plaster or stucco, painted in streaks corresponding with the mouldings. Many names of persons and sentences

* Vitruv. l. x. c. 7. † See Cave.

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are written on the wall, in Greek and Oriental characters. This perhaps is the oratory or church of St. John, which was rebuilt by the emperor Justinian. It is still frequented, and had a path leading to it through tall strong thistles. Near it are remnants of brick buildings, and of sepulchres, with niches cut, some horizontally, in the rock. Going on, you come to the entrance into Ephesus from Aiasalúck. The quarries in the mountain have numberless mazes, and vast, awful, dripping caverns. In many are chippings of marble and marks of the tools. I found chippings also above by the mouths, which supplied marble for the city-wall, and saw huge pieces lying among the bushes at the bottom. The view down the steep and solemn precipice was formidable. A flock of crows, disturbed at my approach, flew out with no small clamour.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of old Ephesus—The city of the Ionians—An oracle—Of Androclus—The city of Lysimachus—The port—Modern history of Ephesus—Its decline—The present Ephesians—Its deplorable condition.

To complete the local history of Ephesus, we must deduce it from a period of remote antiquity. Prion had in former times been called Lepre Acte; and a part behind Prion was still called *the back of Lepre*, when Strabo wrote. Smyrna, a portion of the first Ephesus, was near the gymnasium, *behind* the city of Lysimachus, and between Lepre or Prion, and a spot called Tracheia beyond Corissus. When the Ionians arrived, Androclus, their leader, protected the

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natives, who had settled, from devotion, by the temple of Diana, and incorporated some of them with his followers; but expelled those, who inhabited the town above.*

The city of Androclus was by the athenéum or a temple of Minerva, which was *without* the city of Lysimachus, and by the fountain called Hypelæus, or that *under the olive tree;* taking in part of the mountainous region by Corissus or of Tracheia. This was the city which Crœsus besieged, and the Ephesians presented for an offering to their goddess, annexing it by a rope to her temple, which was distant seven stadia, or a mile, wanting half a quarter.

It is related, that Androclus with the Ephesians, invaded, and got possession of the Island of Samos. It was then debated, where to fix their abode. An oracle was consulted, and gave for answer, " A fish should shew them, and a wild hog conduct them." Some fishermen breakfasting on the spot, where afterwards was the fountain called Hypelæus, near *the sacred port*, one of the fish leaping from the fire with a coal, fell on some chaff, which lighting, communicated with a thicket, and the flames disturbed a wild hog lying in it. This animal ran over great part of the Tracheia, and was killed with a javelin, where afterwards was the athenéum or temple of Minerva.† The reverse of a medalion of the emperor Macrinus, struck by the Ephesians, which has been otherwise interpreted, plainly refers to this story.‡ The Ionians removed to the continent, and founded their city, with a temple of Diana by the market place, and of Apollo

* Strabo, p. 633, p. 640. Pausanias, p. 207.

† Athenæus, l. 8. p. 361.

‡ See Museum Florentinum v. 4. pl. lxi. and v. 6, p. 85.

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Pythius by the port; the oracle having been obtained and fulfilled by the favour of these deities.

Androclus, assisting the people of Priene against the Carians, fell in battle. His body was carried away and buried by the Ephesians. Pausanias relates, that his monument, on which was placed a man armed, continued to be shewn in his time, near the road going from the temple of Diana by the olympium, toward the Magnesian gate.* His posterity had possessed hereditary honours under Tiberius Cæsar. They were titular kings, wore purple, and carried in their hands a wand or sceptre. They had, moreover, precedence at the games, and a right of admission to the Eleusinian mysteries.

The temple of Diana, which rose on the contributions of all Asia, produced a desertion of the city of Androclus. The Ephesians came down from the mountainous region, or Tracheia, and settled in the plain by it, where they continued to the time of Alexander. They were then unwilling to remove into the present city; but a heavy rain falling, and Lysimachus stopping the drains, and flooding their houses, they were glad to exchange.

The port had originally a wide mouth, but foul with mud, lodged in it from the Cayster. Attalus Philadelphus and his architects were of opinion, that, if the entrance were contracted, it would become deeper, and in time be capable of receiving ships of burthen. But the slime, which had before been moved by the flux and reflux of the sea, and carried off, being stopped, the whole basin quite to the mouth was rendered shallow. The morass, of which I had a perfect view

* P. 207. He wrote about the year of the Christian era, 175.

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from the top of Prion, was this port. It communicates with the Cayster, as might be expected, by a narrow mouth; and at the water edge by the ferry, as well as in other places, may be seen the wall intended to embank the stream, and give it force by confinement. The masonry is of the kind termed *Incertum*, in which the stones are of various shapes, but nicely joined. The situation was so advantageous as to overbalance the inconveniencies attending the port. The town increased daily, and under the Romans was accounted the most considerable emporium of Asia within Mount Taurus.*

Toward the end of the eleventh century, Ephesus experienced the same fortune as Smyrna. A Turkish pirate, named Tangripermes, settled there. But the Greek admiral, John Ducas, defeated him in a bloody battle, and pursued the flying Turks up the Mæander. In 1306, it was among the places which suffered from the exactions of the grand-duke Roger, and two years after, it surrendered to sultan Saysan, who, to prevent future insurrections, removed most of the inhabitants to Tyriæum, where they were massacred. The transactions, in which mention is made of Ephesus after this period, belong, as has been already observed, to its neighbour and successor Aiasalúck.

Ephesus appears to have subsisted as an inconsiderable place for some time. The inhabitants being few, and the wall of Lysimachus too extensive to be defended, or too ruinous to be repaired, it was found expedient or necessary to contract their boundary, by erecting an ordinary wall, which descends from near the stadium on one hand, and on the

* Strabo, p. 641.

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other, from the wall on Mount Prion, toward the morass or port, not including the market-place. The difficulty of rendering even this small portion tenable, seems to have produced the removal to Aiasalúck, as a situation more safe and commodious. A farther motive may be added, that the port through time and neglect was changed, and become a nuisance, rather than of public utility.

The Ephesians are now a few Greek peasants, living in extreme wretchedness, dependance, and insensibility; the representatives of an illustrious people, and inhabiting the wreck of their greatness; some, the substructions of the glorious edifices which they raised; some, beneath the vaults of the stadium, once the crowded scene of their diversions; and some, by the abrupt precipice, in the sepulchres, which received their ashes. We employed a couple of them to pile stones, to serve instead of a ladder, at the arch of the stadium, and to clear a pedestal of the portico by the theatre from rubbish. We had occasion for another to dig at the Corinthian temple; and, sending to the stadium, the whole tribe, ten or twelve, followed; one playing all the way before them on a rude lyre, and at times striking the sounding board with the fingers of his left hand in concert with the strings. One of them had on a pair of sandals of goat-skin, laced with thongs, and not uncommon. After gratifying their curiosity, they returned back as they came, with their musician in front.

Such are the present citizens of Ephesus, and such is the condition to which that renowned city has been gradually reduced. It was a ruinous place, when the emperor Justinian filled Constantinople with its statues, and raised his church of St. Sophia on its columns. Since then it has been

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almost quite exhausted. Its streets are obscured, and overgrown. A herd of goats was driven to it for shelter from the sun at noon; and a noisy flight of crows from the quarries seemed to insult its silence. We heard the partridge call in the area of the theatre and of the stadium. The glorious pomp of its heathen worship is no longer remembered; and Christianity, which was there nursed by apostles, and fostered by general councils, until it increased to fullness of stature, barely lingers on in an existence hardly visible.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The Selenusian lakes—A fishery—The Cayster—Road on Gallesus—New land—Port Panormus—The island Syrie.

In the plain of Ephesus were anciently two lakes,* formed partly by stagnant water from the river Selinûs, which ran near the artemisium, or temple of Diana, propably from Mount Gallesus. The kings had taken from the goddess the revenue arising from them, which was great; but it was restored by the Romans. The publicans then forced her to pay taxes. Artemidorus was sent ambassador to Rome, and pleaded successfully her privilege of exemption, for which and his other services the city erected a statue of him in gold. A temple in a bottom by one of the lakes was said to have been founded by Agamemnon.†

The reader may recollect, that, coming from Claros, we

* Templum Dianæ complexi e diversis regionibus duo Selinuntes. *Pliny.*

† Strabo, p. 387. p. 642.

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crossed the mouth of a lake, and afterwards rode along by its side. This was the lower Selenusia. Near the ferry we discovered the other, a long lake, parallel with the first, and extending across the plain. The weir, which we saw, will inform us what were the riches of these waters. Ephesus was greatly frequented, and the receptácle of all who journeyed into the east, from Italy and Greece. A fishery, so near to so populous a mart, must have been an article equally convenient to the city, and profitable to the proprietor. Some pieces of building, with cement, remain by the river side above the ferry.

The river Cayster, after entering the plain, runs by Gallesus, and crosses above the lakes, opposite the square tower. Lower down, it leaves but a narrow pass, obstructed with thickets, at the foot of the mountain. It then becomes wider and deeper; and mingles, the stream still and smooth, with the sea. On the banks, and in the morass or port, and in the lake near the ferry, we saw thick groves of tall reeds, some growing above twenty feet high; and, it is observable, that the river-god is represented, on the Ephesian medals, with this aquatic as one of his attributes.

An ordinary bridge of three arches is built over the river, at the foot of Gallesus. The road on that mountain has been hewn in the rock. Our Armenians told us the work was done by St. Paul, with a single stroke of a seymitar. Some caravans still use it; crossing the plain and the mouth of the morass or port to the gap below the square tower, or ferrying over the Cayster lower down in a boat with a rope, and proceeding to Scala Nova, without touching at Aiasalúck.

The Cayster has its rise up in the country among the

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hills formerly called Cilbianian. It brings down many rivers, with a lake once called the Pegaséan; which was driven into it by the Pyrrhites,* a furious stream, as may be inferred from the name. The slime, which is collected in its course, propagates new land. The sea once acted by its flux and reflux on the port of Ephesus, which has been diminished in proportion as the soil has increased and become firm ground. The river also has perhaps gradually changed its own bed, while it has augmented the plain.

The arrangement of this portion of the coast, given by Strabo, is as follows:—After Neapolis, now Scala Nova, and Phygela, going northward, was port Panormus, which boasted the temple of the Ephesian Diana; then the city, which had arsenals and a port, beyond the mouth of the Cayster, was a lake, called Selenusia, made by water which the sea repelled; and, in the same direction, another communicating with it; then Mount Gallesus. Panormus, it is likely, was the general name of the whole haven, and comprised both *the Sacred Port*, or that by which the temple stood, and *the City Port*, now the morass. The former is perhaps quite filled up.

Pliny mentions, that, in consequence of the encroachments of the river on the sea, the island Syrie was then seen in the middle of a plain. That island was, I suspect, the rock of Aiasalúck.

* Pliny.

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CHAP. XXXVIII.

Of the temple of Diana—The idol—Account of it—The priests, &c.—Self manifestations of the goddess—An Ephesian decree —Remarks.

We would close our account of Ephesus with the preceding chapter, but the curious reader will ask, what is become of the renowned temple of Diana? Can a wonder of the world be vanished, like a phantom, without leaving a trace behind? We would gladly give a satisfactory answer to such queries; but, to our great regret, we searched for the site of this fabric to as little purpose as the travellers, who have preceded us.

The worship of the great goddess, Diana, had been established at Ephesus in a remote age. The Amazons, it is related, sacrificed to her there, on their way to Attica in the time of Theseus; and, some writers affirmed, the image was first set up by them under a tree. The vulgar afterwards believed it fell down from Jupiter. It was never changed, though the temple had been restored seven times.

This idol, than which none has been ever more splendidly enshrined, was of a middling size, and of very great antiquity, as was evident from the fashion; it having the feet closed. It was of wood, which some had pronounced cedar, and others ebony. Mutianus, a noble Roman, who was the third time consul in the year of our Lord seventy five, affirmed from his own observation, that it was vine, and had

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many holes filled with nard to nourish and moisten it, and to preserve the cement.* It was gorgeously apparelled; the vest embroidered with emblems and symbolical devices; and, to prevent its tottering, a bar of metal, it is likely, of gold, was placed under each hand. A veil or curtain, which was drawn up from the floor to the ceiling, hid it from view, except while service was performing in the temple.

The priests of the goddess were eunuchs, and exceedingly respected by the people. The old institutions required, that virgins should assist them in their office, but, in process of time, these, as Strabo has remarked, were not all observed. The titles of some of the inferior ministers are perhaps recorded on the marble, which we found near the entrance of the valley; the sacred-herald, the incenser, the player on the flute at the libations, and the holy trumpeter.†

It may be imagined, that many stories of the power and interposition of the goddess were current and believed at Ephesus. The most striking evidence of the reality of her existence, and of her regard for her suppliants, was probably furnished by her supposed manifestations of herself in visions. In the history of Massilia,‡ now Marseilles, it is related, that she was seen by Aristarche, a lady of high rank, while sleeping, and that she commanded her to accompany the Greek adventurers, by whom that city was founded. Metagenes,‖ one of the architects of her temple at Ephesus, had invented a method of raising the vast stones to the necessary height, but it did not succeed, so well as was expected, with a marble of prodigious size, designed to be placed over the door-way. He was excessively troubled,

* Pliny. † Inscript. Ant. p. 11. ‡ Strabo, p. 179. ‖ Pliny.

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and, weary of ruminating, fell asleep, when he beheld the goddess, who bade him be comforted, she had been his friend. The next day the stone was found to have settled, apparently from is own weight, as he wished.

Near the path, after passing the aqueduct at Aiasalúck, in our way from Smyrna, we met with a curious memorial of the importance of the goddess, and of the respect paid to her.*. It is a decree of the Ephesians, inscribed on a slab of white marble, and may be thus translated. "To the Ephesian Diana: Inasmuch as it is notorious, that not only among the Ephesians, but also every where among the Greek nations, temples are consecrated to her, and sacred portions; and that she is set up, and has an altar dedicated to her, on account of her plain manifestations of herself, and that besides, the greatest token of the veneration paid her, a month is called after her name; by us Artemision, by the Macedonians and other Greek nations, and in their cities, Artemisian; in which, general assemblies and Hieromênia are celebrated, but not in the holy city, the nurse of its own, the Ephesian, goddess: The people of Ephesus deeming it proper, that the whole month called by her name be sacred, and set apart to the goddess, have determined by this decree, that the observation of it by them be altered. Therefore it is enacted, that in the whole month Artemision the days be holy, and that nothing be attended to on them, but the yearly feastings, and the Artemisiac Panegyris, and the Hieromênia; the entire month being sacred to the goddess; for, from this improvement in her worship, our city shall receive additional lustre, and be permanent in its prosperity

* Inscript. Ant. p. 13.

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for ever." The person who obtained this decree, appointed games for the month, augmented the prizes of the contenders, and erected statues of those who conquered. His name is not preserved; but he was probably a Roman, as his kinsman, who provided this record, was named Lucius Phœnius Faustus. The feast of Diana was resorted to yearly by the Ionians, with their families.

A people convinced that the self-manifestations of the deity before-mentioned were real, could not be easily turned to a religion, which did not pretend to a similar or equal intercourse with its divinity. And this perhaps is the true reason, why, in the early ages of Christianity, besides the miraculous agency of the spirit in prophetic fits of extasy, a belief of supernatural interposition by the Panagia or *Virgin Mary*,* and by saints appearing in daily or nightly visions, was encouraged and inculcated. It helped by its currency to procure and confirm the credulous votary, to prevent or refute the cavil of the heathen, to exalt the new religion, and to deprive the established of its ideal superiority. The superstitions derived on the Greek church from this source, in a remote period, and still continuing to flourish in it, would principally impede the progress of any, who should endeavour to convert its members to the nakedness of reformed Christianity. *Great is the Panagia*, would be the general cry; and her self-manifestations, like those of Diana anciently, would even now be attested by many a reputable witness. By what arguments shall a people, filled with affectionate regard for her, and feeling complacency from their conviction of her attention to them, and of her power,

* See an instance, in the year 408. Sozomen, vii. 5.

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be prevailed on to accept our rational Protestantism in exchange for their fancied, but satisfactory revelations!

CHAP. XXXIX.

The spot chosen for the temple of Diana—Skill of the architects—The new temple—Its magnificence—The asylum—The temple not in the city—Plundered—Its destruction unnoticed—The supposed site—A Sibyline prophecy.

The reputation and the riches of their Diana had made the Ephesians desirous to provide for her a magnificent temple. The fortunate discovery of marble in Mount Prion gave them new vigour. The cities of Asia, so general was the esteem for the goddess, contributed largely; and Crœsus was at the expense of many of the columns. The spot chosen for the building was a marsh, as most likely to preserve the structure free from gaps, and uninjured by earthquakes. The foundation was made with charcoal rammed, and with fleeces. The souterrain consumed immense quantities of marble. The edifice was exalted on a basement, with ten steps. The architects, Ctesiphon of Crete, and Metagenes his son, were likewise authors of a treatise on the fabric. Demetrius a servant of Diana, and Peonius an Ephesian, were said to have completed this work, which was two hundred and twenty years about.

The distance between the site of the temple and the quarries, did not exceed eight thousand feet, and no rising intervened, but the whole space was level plain. Ctesiphon in-

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vented a curious machine, of which a description is preserved,* for transporting the shafts of the columns; fearing, if a carriage were laden with a stone so ponderous, as each was, the wheels would sink deep into the soil. Metagenes adapted his contrivance to convey the architraves. These were so bulky, that the raising of any one of them to its place, appeared a miracle. It was done by forming a gentle ascent, higher than the columns, of baskets filled with sand; emptying those beneath, when the mass was arrived, and thus letting it gradually down upon the capitals. By this method, the prodigious stone, formerly mentioned, was inserted over the door-way.

This temple, which Xerxes spared, was set on fire by Herostratus; but the votaries of Diana proved so extravagant in their zeal, that she was a gainer by his exploit. A new and more glorious fabric was begun; and Alexander the Great, arriving at Ephesus, wished to inscribe it as the dedicator; and was willing, for that gratification, to defray the whole expense; but the Ephesians declined accepting this magnificent offer. The architect, then employed, was the famous projector, who proposed the forming Mount Athos, when he had finished, into a statue of this king.

The temple now erected was reckoned the first in Ionia for magnitude and riches. It was four hundred and twenty feet long, and two hundred and twenty broad. Of the columns, which were sixty feet high, one hundred and twenty seven were donations from kings. Thirty-six were carved; and one of them, perhaps as a model, by Scopas. The order was

* Vitruvius, l. x. c. vi. where, *for* millia passuum octo, *read* pedum,—Millia pedum quinque. l. x. c. xiv. *or* passus mille.

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Ionic, and it had eight columns in front. The folding-doors, or gates, had been continued four years in glue, and were made of cypress-wood, which had been treasured up for four generations, highly polished. These were found by Mucianus as fresh and as beautiful four hundred years after, as when new. The ceiling was of cedar; and the steps for ascending the roof, of a single stem of a vine, which witnessed the durable nature of that wood. The whole altar was in a manner full of the works of Praxiteles. The offerings were inestimable, and among them was a picture by Apelles, representing Alexander armed with thunder, for which he was paid twenty talents of gold.* The structure was so wonderfully great in its composition, and so magnificently adorned, it appeared the work of beings more than human. The sun, it is affirmed, beheld in his course no object of superior excellence, or worthier of admiration.

The temple of Diana had the privilege of an asylum, or sanctuary, before the time of Alexander; but he extended it to a stadium, or half a quarter of a mile. Afterwards Mithridates shot an arrow from the angle of the pediment, and his boundary exceeded the stadium, but not much. Mark Antony coming near him, enlarged it so as to comprehend a portion of the city; but that concession proving inconvenient and dangerous, was annulled by Augustus Cæsar.

We have mentioned before, that the distance of the temple from the quarries did not exceed eight thousand feet, and that the whole way was entirely level. From the detail now given, it appears, that the temple was distinct from the present city, and the distance may be inferred; for Mark An-

* Above £38,650 *English.*

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tony allowing the sanctuary to reach somewhat more than a stadium from it, a part of the city was comprised within those limits. It was, moreover, *without* the Magnesian gate, which, I should suppose, was that next Aiasalúck; and, in the second century, was joined to the city by Damianus, a sophist, who continued the way down to it through the Magnesian gate, by erecting a stoa or portico, of marble, a stadium, or six hundred twenty five feet in length; which expensive work was inscribed with the name of his wife, and intended to prevent the absence of the ministers, when it rained. He likewise dedicated a banquetting-room in the temple, as remarkable for its dimensions as its beauty. It is adorned with Phrygian marble, such as had never been cut in quarries before.*

The extreme sanctity of the temple inspired universal awe and reverence. It was for many ages a repository of foreign and domestic treasures. There property, whether public or private, was secure, amid all revolutions. The civility of Xerxes was an example to subsequent conquerors, and the impiety of sacrilege was not extended to the Ephesian goddess. But Nero was less polite. He removed many costly offerings and images, and an immense quantity of silver and gold. It was again plundered by Goths from beyond the Danube, in the time of Gallienus;† a party under Raspa crossing the Hellespont, and ravaging the country, until compelled to retreat, when they carried off a prodigious booty.

The destruction of so illustrious an edifice deserved to have been carefully recorded by contemporary historians.

* Philostratus, p. 601. † In the year of Christ, 262.

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We may conjecture it followed the triumph of Christianity. The Ephesian reformers, when authorized by the imperial edicts, rejoiced in the opportunity of insulting Diana; and deemed it piety to demolish the very ruin of her habitation. Hence, perhaps, while the columns of the Corinthian temple have owed their preservation to their bulk, those of this fabric, with the vast architraves, and all the massive materials, have perished and are consumed. Though its stones were far more ponderous, and the heap larger beyond comparison, the whole is vanished we know not how or whither. An ancient author has described it as standing at the head of the port, and shining as a meteor. We may add, that as such too it has since disappeared.

It has been supposed, that the souterrain by the morass or city-port, with two pieces of ancient wall, of square stone, by one of which is the entrance to it, are reliques of the temple; but that spot was nearly in the centre of the city of Lysimachus; and besides, the temple was raised on a lofty basement with steps. The edifice was deemed a wonder, not for its form, as at all uncommon; but for the grandeur of its proportions, the excellence of its workmanship, and the magnificence of its decorations. The vaulted substructions by the stadium might, it is believed, furnish an area corresponding better with this idea, and more suited to receive the mighty fabric; which, however, as has been shewn above, was in the plain, and distinct, though not remote, from the present city.

A writer,* who lived toward the end of the second century, has cited a Sibyl as foretelling, that, the earth opening and

* Clemens Alexandrinus, t. 1. p. 44. See the Sibylline Verses, l. 5. p. 607.

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quaking, the temple of Diana would be swallowed, like a ship in a storm, into the abyss: and Ephesus lamenting and weeping by the river banks, would inquire for it, then inhabited no more. If the authenticity of the oracle were undisputed, and the Sibyl acknowledged a genuine prophetess, we might infer from the visible condition of the place, the full accomplishment of the whole prediction. We now seek in vain for the temple; the city is prostrate; and the goddess gone.

CHAP. XL.

We leave Aiasalúck—Road to Scala Nova—Of Phygela—Of Ortygia—The lower way to Scala Nova—Changes—Of Scala Nova.

After staying at Aiasalúck four days, we set out at half past seven in the morning, with a guide on an ass, for Neapolis or Scala Nova, distant three hours. The plain was covered with mud and slime from the recent inundation. It produces corn, cotton, sesamus, and tobacco; but in several places was swampy, and overgrown with rushes and reeds. Flocks, and herds, and camels were feeding on it. We had Ephesus, and the morass or port on our left hand, until we were opposite the square tower, which has been mentioned as standing on a precipice.

We came in an hour to the gap in Corissus, and left the plain behind; our course winding south-westward, and the castle of Aiasalúck bearing 10° north of east. We soon had the back of Corissus on our left hand, with the exterior front of

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the city-wall, high in the air, on the ridge, which is steep and inaccessible. On the mountain, between the gap and the sea, are likewise traces of a wall. Before us was a pleasant valley, with a Turkish burying ground, and a village named Arvisia beyond a mean ruinous aqueduct, which the road approaches, and then becomes rough and rugged; leading over the rock, in view of the sea, of the mouth of the Cayster, and of the extremity of the plain of Ephesus; into which a track descends, crossing a piece of wet low ground at the end of the mountain. We met a peasant on an ass laden with grapes, and purchased some of admirable flavour.

Going on southward, we passed under a fragment of a wall, which appears, from the earthen pipes in it, to have conveyed water across the road from the mountain on our left, which had a channel still in use, running a considerable way along its side. Near this remnant, on our right, were vestiges of a small town, Pygela or Phygela, upon a hill. There was once a temple of Diana, founded, as they related, by Agamemnon. He was said to have touched at this place, in his voyage homeward, and to have left behind some of his men, who were disabled by rowing. The wine of Phygela is commended by Dioscorides; and its territory was nowgreen with vines. We had remarked, that about Smyrna the leaves were decayed, or stripped by the camels and herds of goats, which are admitted to browze after the vintage. We came soon after in sight of the sea, and of Scala Nova.

In the Ephesian decree, inserted in a preceding chapter, the city is styled, *The Nurse of her own Goddess.* The local story was, that Latona had been delivered of her in Ortygia, a beautiful grove of trees of various kinds, chiefly cypresses, near Ephesus; on the coast, a little up from the

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sea. This place was filled with shrines and images. A general assembly was held there yearly; and splendid entertainments were provided, and mystic sacrifices solemnized. The Cenchrius, probably a crooked river, ran through it; and above it was the mountain Solmissus, on which, it was fabled, the Curetes stood and rattled on their shields, to divert the attention of Juno.*

As the site of Ortygia is marked by a mountain and a river, we expected to discover it without much difficulty; and with that view preferred, in our second journey from Ephesus, the lower way to Scala Nova, going from the gymnasium, where we had pitched our tent, to the extremity of the plain, and then along by the sea. We came in sight of the town sooner than before, and turned into the road near Phygela, a little beyond the broken wall, without meeting with any thing remarkable.

The improved face of a country is perishible, like human beauty. Not only the birth-place of Diana and its sanctity are forgotten, but the grove and buildings, which adorned it, appear no more: and, perhaps, as I have since suspected, the land has encroached on the sea, and the valley, in which Arvisia is, was once Ortygia. The houses of Damianus, in the suburbs of the city, with the pleasant plantations on his estate, and the artificial islands and portlets, which he made by the sea side, are all now equally invisible.

Scala Nova, called by the Turks Koushadase, is situated in a bay, on the slope of a hill, the houses rising one above another, intermixed with minarets, and tall slender cypresses. A street, through which we rode, was hung with goat-skins

* Strabo, p. 639.

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exposed to dry, dyed of a most lively red. At one of the fountains is an ancient coffin, used as a cistern. The port was filled with small craft. Before it is an old fortress on a rock or islet, frequented by gulls and sea-mews. By the water-side is a large and good khan, at which we passed a night on our return. This place once belonged to the Ephesians, who exchanged it with the Samians for a town in Caria.

We shall conduct the reader to the confines of Ionia with Caria, by the route we pursued in our first journey, and then return again to Scala Nova.

CHAP. XLI.

We continue our journey—Mount Mycale and Trogilium—At Suki—We pass Priene— Perplexed in the plain.

We arrived at Scala Nova from Aiasalúck at about eleven in the morning, and drank coffee, while our men procured provisions to carry with us. We mounted again at twenty minutes before twelve, and leaving an aqueduct, with a road leading toward the sea, on our right hand, passed over a broken causey to a village pleasantly situated on a hill covered with vines, called Cornea. We had frequent views of the coast, and of the adjacent islands. Twenty minutes after two we stopped at a fountain of excellent water, by which is a coffee-house, with a shady tree, where we dined.

We went on at half after three, and in ten minutes overlooked a beautiful cultivated plain, lying low beneath us, bounded by the sea and by Mycale, a mountain, now, as anciently, woody and abounding in wild beasts. The pro-

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montory, once called Trogilium,* runs out toward the north end of Samos, which was in view, and meeting a promontory of the island, named Posidium, makes a strait only seven stadia, or near a mile wide. The city of Samos was toward the south, forty stadia or five miles from Trogilium. The passage from this cape to Sunium in Attica, was sixteen hundred stadia, or two hundred miles.†

We met several strings of slow, melancholy camels, and numerous flocks of goats. The hills were covered with a short verdure from the late rains. Before us were lofty mountains. Entering within the range, we had Mycale on our right hand, and on our left the termination of Mount Pactyas, and of Mount Messogis; the latter, which was once famous for wine, reaching hither from Celænæ in Phrygia, bounding the plain on the north side of the river Mæander. The road was broken and rough. As we advanced, the passage widened; and we had on our right a water-course. We discovered the dome and minaret of a mosque, with a cypress-tree or two before us; and ten minutes after five came to Suki, a Turkish village by a plain. We were lodged in a mean caravanserá, with mud walls.

In the morning it lightened and rained; with awful thunder, at intervals, on the mountain-tops, which were envelloped in fleecy clouds. We left the village at seven, and travelled along by the foot of Mycale, on the edge of the plain, which is very extensive, and skirted round with mountains. My-

* Before Trogilium was an islet of the same name. Pliny reckons three, Trogiliæ, Psison, *the Naked;* Argennon, *the White;* Sandalion, *the Sandal.* See a chart in Tournefort, v. 1.

† Strabo, p. 636

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cale rose very high on our right hand, appearing as a single ridge, with many villages on its side. By the way were flowering shrubs, and we enjoyed the fragrance and dewy freshness of spring in autumn. We came in two hours near Kelibesh, where our guide was bemired. From this place we afterwards examined the ruins of Priene, which we now passed; and at a quarter before eleven turned to the left, slanting over the plain toward Palat or Miletus, which was in view. Behind us was a village named Aurtborgusi, bearing 15° east of north.

Our guide had mistaken his way, and led us on too far by the foot of Mycale. This occasioned us much perplexity in the plain, where in twenty-five minutes we came to the water-course, which winds before Priene. The bed was wide, almost dry, and the banks steep. After crossing again and again, it still continued to meet us, and to become more and more formidable, until we were quite at a loss how to proceed, when fortunately we espied some low scattered huts made of reeds, and procured a peasant to conduct us. He waded over, and informed us, this was called Cali-bech-osmoc, *The little River*. The water appeared stagnant. After passing it six times in an hour and twenty minutes, we left it on the right hand, and went on without farther obstacle across the plain, with the theatre of Miletus in view before us. At ten minutes after one we were ferried over the Mæander, now called Mendres, below it, in a triangular float, with a rope. The man was a black, and in his features strongly resembled a Satyr. The stream was smooth and placid, but muddy.

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CHAP. XLII.

The theatre at Miletus—Inscription on the wall—Other remains —The mosque, &c.—Modern history of Miletus—Its ancient greatness.

MILETUS is a very mean place, but still called Palat or Palatia, *The Palaces.* The principal relic of its former magnificence is a ruined theatre, which is visible afar off, and was a most capacious edifice, measuring in front four hundred and fifty seven feet. The external face of this vast fabric is marble, and the stones have a projection near the upper edge, which, we surmised, might contribute to the raising them with facility. The seats ranged, as usual, on the slope of a hill, and a few of them remain. The vaults, which supported the extremities of the semi-circle, with the arches or avenues in the two wings, are constructed with such solidity, as not easily to be demolished. The entrance of the vault or substruction, on the left side, was filled up with soil; but we examined that next the river; one of our Armenians going before us with a candle in a long paper lanthorn. The moment we had crept in, innumerable large bats began flitting about us. The stench was hardly tolerable; and the commotion of the air, with the apprehensions of our attendant, threatened us with the loss of our light. After we had gone a considerable way in, we found the passage choked with dry filth, and returned.

On the side of the theatre next to the river is an inscrip-

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tion* in mean characters rudely cut, in which "*the city Miletus*" is mentioned seven times. This is a monument of heretical Christianity. One Basilides, who lived in the second century, was the founder of an absurd sect called Basilidians and Gnostics, the original proprietors of the many gems, with strange devices and inscriptions, intended to be worn as amulets or charms, with which the cabinets of the curious now abound. One of their idle tenets was, that the appellative "Jehovah," possessed signal virtue and efficacy. They expressed it by the seven Greek vowels, which they transposed, into a variety of combinations. The superstition appears to have prevailed in no small degree at Miletus. In this remain the mysterious name is frequently repeated, and the deity six times invoked, "*Holy Jehovah, preserve the town of the Milesians, and all the inhabitants.*" The archangels also are summoned to be their guardians, and the whole city is made the author of these supplications; from which thus engraved, it expected, as may be presumed, to derive lasting prosperity, and a kind of talismanical protection.

The whole site of the town, to a great extent, is spread with rubbish, and over-run with thickets. The vestiges of the heathen city are pieces of wall, broken arches, and a few scattered pedestals, and inscriptions,† a square marble urn, and many wells. One of the pedestals has belonged to a statue of the emperor Hadrian, who was a friend to the Milesians, as appears from the titles of saviour and benefactor bestowed on him. Another has supported the emperor Severus, and has a long inscription, with this curious preamble, "The senate and people of the city of the Milesians, the first settled

* Inscript. Ant. p. 16, 17. † Ibid.

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in Ionia, and the mother of many and great cities both in Pontus and Egypt, and in various other parts of the world." —This lies among the bushes behind the theatre. Near the ferry is a large lion in a couchant posture, much injured; and in a Turkish burying ground, another. These were placed on graves, or perhaps before a building for ornament. Some fragments of ordinary churches are interspersed among the ruins; and traces remain of an old fortress erected upon the theatre, beneath which is a square inclosure designed, it seems, as a station for an armed party to dispute or defend the passage of the river. Several piers of a mean aqueduct are standing. The fountain named from Biblis, with the scene of the stories concerning her passion, was in the territory of Miletus. A marble quarry, if I mistake not, is discernible on the mountain, which bounds the plain on the left hand, at a distance toward the sea.

From the number of forsaken mosques, it is evident, that Mahometanism has flourished in its turn at Miletus. All these have been mean buildings and mere patch-work; but one, a noble and beautiful structure of marble is in use, and the dome, with a tall palm-tree or two, towers amid the ruins, and some low flat-roofed cottages, inhabited by a very few Turkish families, the present citizens of Miletus.

The history of this place, after the declension of the Greek empire, is very imperfect. The whole region has undergone frequent ravages from the Turks, while possessed of the interior country, and intent on extending their conquests westward to the shore. One sultan in 1175 sent twenty thousand men, with orders to lay waste the Roman provinces, and bring him sea-water, sand, and an oar. All the cities on the Mæander, and on the coast, were then ruined. Miletus was

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again destroyed toward the end of the thirteenth century by the conquering Othman.

Miletus was once exceedingly powerful and illustrious. Its early navigators extended its commerce to remote regions. The whole Euxine Sea, the Propontis, Ægypt, and other countries, were frequented by its ships, and settled by its colonies. It boasted a venerable band of memorable men, Hecatæus, an early historian; and Thales, the father of philosophy. It withstood Darius, and refused to admit Alexander. It has been styled the metropolis and head of Ionia; the bulwark of Asia; chief in war and peace; mighty by sea; the fertile mother, which had poured forth her children to every quarter, counting not fewer than seventy-five cities descended from her. It afterwards fell so low as to furnish a proverbial saying, "The Milesians were once great:" but if we compare its ancient glory, and its subsequent humiliation, with its present state, we may justly exclaim, Miletus, how much lower art thou now fallen!

CHAP. XLIII.

The aga of Suki—To Ura—To Branchidæ—Port Panormus —A water there—Ruin of the temple of Apollo Didyméus —Other remains.

WHILE we were employed on the theatre of Miletus, the aga of Suki, son-in-law by marriage to Elez-Oglue, crossed the plain towards us, attended by a considerable train of domestics and officers, their vests and turbans of various and

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lively colours, mounted on long-tailed horses, with showy trappings, and glittering furniture. He returned after hawking to Miletus, and we went to visit him, with a present of coffee and sugar; but were told that two favourite birds had flown away, and that he was vexed and tired. A couch was prepared for him beneath a shed made against a cottage, and covered with green boughs to keep off the sun. He entered, as we were standing by, and fell down on it to sleep, without taking any notice of us. We rambled over the ruins, until he awoke, when we were again admitted. He was sitting on a carpet, cross-legged, with a hooded falcon on his knee, and another, which he stroked often and caressed, before him on a stand. Round about him were dogs and horses The Armenian, who interpreted for us, offered him our firhman; but he said, it was sufficient that he knew our country, that the English and Turks were brethren. He examined our weapons with attention; discoursed on them and our apparel, expressed regret, that he was unable to entertain us so well as he wished; and promised us a letter of recommendation to the aga of Melasso. We were treated each with a pipe and dish of coffee; after which, making our obeisance, we retired, well pleased with his manly politeness and civility. In the morning he sent the letter, and a little old man, a Turk, who had been a camel-leader, and was well acquainted with the roads, to be our guide.

We set out at twenty minutes before eight for Ura, or Urada, where we expected to find the ruins of Branchidæ, a place famous for a most magnificent temple dedicated to Apollo Didyméus. Near the city-gate, going thither, on the left hand of the road, was once the monument of Neleus, a leader of the Ionians, and founder of Miletus. This was pro-

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bably a barrow. We saw no traces of the city-wall. In half an hour the plain ended, and we came to a range of hills, called anciently Mount Latmus; and soon after to a poor village of Greeks named Aucti, where we staid an hour to procure fowls, eggs, and other provisions, to be carried with us. At ten we had passed a heathy vale by the sea, and then crossing a high ridge, had in view some columns of the temple, which are yet standing. The road was over the mountain among low shrubs, chiefly the arbutus then laden with fruit, like strawberries, large and tempting; the colour a lively red, the taste luscious and woody.* Before us was a small inlet or gulf on the north-side of the promontory Posidium, on which the temple is situated. We came to the head of it, and turning up in a valley, arrived about twelve at Ura, where are a few straggling huts.

A peasant of Ura undertook to conduct us to the ruins, which are half an hour distant. We proceeded without dismounting, and on a sudden, a wild bull, roaring, rushed out of a thicket, close by the road, and made furiously at our guide. The man, who was before us on foot, turning nimbly round some bushes eluded the attack. This terrible animal had for some time infested that district.

In descending from the mountain toward the gulf, I had remarked in the sea something white on the farther side; and going afterwards to examine it, found the remain of a circular pier belonging to the port, which was called Panormus. The stones, which are marble, and about six feet in diameter, extend from near the shore; where are traces of buildings, probably houses, over-run with thickets of myrtle, mastic,

* Pliny calls it "pomum inhonorum." Nat. Hist. xv. 24.

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and ever-greens. Some water occurring fifteen minutes from Ura, and presently becoming more considerable, I traced it to the gulf, which it enters at the head, after a very short course, full and slow. This was anciently supposed to have its source on Mount Mycale, and to pass the sea in its way to Port Panormus, by which it emerged opposite to Branchidæ.

The temple of Apollo was eighteen or twenty stadia, or about two miles and a half from the shore; and one hundred and eighty stadia, or twenty two miles and a half from Miletus. It is approached by a gentle ascent, and seen afar off; the land toward the sea lying flat and level. The memory of the pleasure, which this spot afforded me, will not be soon or easily erased. The columns yet entire are so exquisitely fine, the marble mass so vast and noble, that it is impossible perhaps to conceive greater beauty and majesty of ruin. At evening, a large flock of goats, returning to the fold, their bells tinkling, spread over the heap, climbing to browse on the shrubs and trees growing between the huge stones. The whole mass was illuminated by the declining sun with a variety of rich tints, and cast a very strong shade. The sea, at a distance, was smooth and shining, bordered by a mountainous coast, with rocky islands. The picture was as delightful as striking. A view of part of the heap, with plates of the architecture of this glorious edifice, has been engraved and published, with its history, at the expense of the society of *Dilettanti*.

We found among the ruins, which are extensive, a plain stone cistern, covered, except an end, with soil; many marble coffins, unopened, or with the lids broken; and one, in which was a thigh bone; all sunk deep in earth: with five statues, near each other, in a row almost buried. In the stubble of

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some Turkey wheat were a number of bee-hives, each a long hollow trunk of wood headed like a barrel, piled in a heap. An Armenian, who was with me, on our putting up a hare, to my surprise slunk away. This animal, as I was afterwards informed, is held in abomination by that people, and the seeing it accounted an ill omen.

CHAP. XLIV.

At the temple—At Ura—Ignorance of the Turks—Their huts —We continue our journey—The confines of Ionia with Caria.

THE temple of Apollo Didyméus seeming likely to detain us some time, we regretted the entire solitude of the spot, which obliged us to fix our quarters at Ura. Our Armenian cook, who tarried there with our baggage, sent us provisions ready dressed, and we dined under a shady tree by the ruins. Our horses were tied and feeding by us. Our camel-leader testified his benevolence and regard, by frequent tenders of his short pipe, and of coffee, which he made unceasingly, sitting cross-legged by a small fire. The crows settled in large companies round about, and the partridge called in the stubble.

At our return in the evening to Ura, we found two fires, with our kettles boiling, in the open air, amid the huts and thickets. A mat was spread for us on the ground by one of them. The Turks of Ura, about fourteen in number, some with long beards, sitting cross-legged, helped to complete the grotesque circle. We were lighted by the moon, then full, and shining in a blue cloudless sky. The Turks smoked,

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talked, and drank coffee with great gravity, composure, and deliberation. One entertained us with playing on the Turkish guitar, and with uncouth singing. The thin-voiced women, curious to see us, glided as ghosts across the glades, in white, with their faces muffled. The assemblage and the scene was uncommonly wild, and as solemn as savage.

The attention and knowledge of our guests was wholly confined to agriculture, their flocks and herds. They called the ruin of the temple an old castle, and we inferred from their answers to our inquiries about it, that the magnificence of the building had never excited in them one reflection, or indeed attracted their observation, even for a moment. Our discourse, which was carried on by interpreters, not very expert in the Italian language, soon became languid and tiresome; and the fatigues of the day contributtd to render repose and silence desirable.

We retired, after supper, to one of the huts, which was near the fire, and, like the rest, resembled a soldier's tent; being made with poles inclining, as the two sides of a triangle, and thatched with straw. It was barely a covering for three persons lying on the ground. The furniture was a jar of salted olives, at the farther end. Our men slept round the fire, and watched some hours for an opportunity to shoot the bull, which twice came near the huts, allured by the cattle. He then changed his haunt, removing to a thicket at a distance, where we frequently saw him, or heard him roar. The weather as yet was clear and pleasant, and the sun powerful. We drooped with heat at noon, but at night experienced cold, and in the morning our thatch was dripping with wet.

The disorders, which began to prevail among us, required a speedy exchange of the thickets for some lodging less damp

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and chilly. We renewed our journey, after two entire days, with satisfaction; leaving the temple at eleven, on a Friday, and travelling nearly south-eastward over low stony land covered with tufts or bushes. Before us was the mountain, anciently called Grius, a high craggy range, parallel to Mount Latmus; then stretching from the Milesian territory eastward through Caria as far as Euromus, which was on the sea-coast, and once a place of some consequence.

We came in two hours and a half to a deep bay, formerly called *Sinis Basilicus*, on the south side of Posidium. The road for twenty minutes was on the beach. We tarried under a tree near a small peninsula, on which was a hut or two, while our Turks performed the devotions customary on their sabbath. We then entered between the mountains, the boundary now, as we were told, of the jurisdiction of Elez-Oglu, and anciently of Ionia.

We now return to Scala Nova, or Neapolis.

CHAP. XLV.

Of the Ionians—Their general assembly—Panionium—Story of the city Helice.

On the arrival of the Ionian adventurers from the European continent, the people, who before possessed the country, retired, or were expelled. The Carians had settled about Miletus, Mycale, and Ephesus; and the Leleges on the side toward Phocæa. Their sepulchres and castles, with vestiges of their towns, remained for many ages, and some are perhaps even now extant.

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The Ionian cities on the continent were, as has been mentioned, ten in number, not reckoning Smyrna. These, with Chios and Samos, gloried in their name; and to preserve the memory of their common origin, to promote amity and concord, and to facilitate their union for mutual defence, when occasion should require, instituted a general assembly, in which their deputies or representatives had power to propose and enact decrees, to debate and to determine on the interests of the community.

The place, where this famous council, called the Panionian, met, was on the coast named Trogilia, three stadia, or a quarter of a mile and a half from the shore. It was a portion of Mount Mycale named Panionium, fronting the north, in the territory of Priene, selected by the Ionic body, and consecrated to Neptune Heliconius. The cities jointly sacrificed to that deity at the season of the congress. The ceremony is represented on the reverse of a medalion of the emperor Gallus, struck by the Colophonians. The thirteen deputies are there seen, each with his right hand uplifted, or in the act of supplication, standing round an altar, with fire, and a bull before the image and temple.* If the victim lowed while dragging to the altar, it was deemed a good omen.

The Prienéans were descended from the Ionians of Helice in Achaia, and introduced the worship of this god. They had petitioned their mother-city to transmit to them an image of him, and a plan of his temple, intending to erect one on the same model, but were refused. They then obtained from the Achæan community, a decree in their favour; and,

* See Museum C. Albani, v. 2. pl. 80. and p. 42. The deity is there supposed to be Apollo Clarius.

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Helice not complying with it, Neptune, it is related, grew angry, and in the following winter, that city was swallowed up by an inundation of the sea and an earthquake. This event happened in the night, two years before the battle of Leuctra. The Achæans then delivered to the Ionians the plan they had requested. A young man was appointed by the Prienéans to preside at the rites, as *sacrificing king*, during the festival.

CHAP. XLVI.

We set out from Scala Nova—Separate and lose our way—Benighted on Mount Mycale—Goat-herds—To Changlee—To Panionium—To Kelibesh.

In going from Scala Nova toward Miletus, as related in a preceding chapter, we had in view on the right hand the coast called Trogilia, and the promontory. We then passed Priene, that journey having for its principal object the temple of Apollo Didyméus. On our second arrival at Scala Nova from Ephesus, we resolved to proceed to Priene by Changlee, or, as was supposed, Panionium. That village is distant about three hours from Scala Nova. We stopped at the khan, while our men purchased provisions; and set forward, at four in the afternoon, with a guide from the town, who put us into the road, which we have mentioned as leading toward the sea, and then returned.

We passed, after descending to the water-side, along the edge of the bay, and near a ruined castle on a hill in the plain. Our janizary was mounted on a free horse, and we, to keep

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pace with him, separated from our servants, who followed with our baggage behind. It was dusk, and Changlee lying up from the sea, escaped our observation. We expected to arrive there every minute, and rode on, until we came to the foot of Mount Mycale, and the beach was at an end. There, unfortunately, we discovered a tract with a gate before it, and went on, not doubting but the village was near. Steep succeeded steep; the way slippery, uneven, often winding about vast chasms, or close by the brink of tremendous precipices, with the sea rolling beneath.

We were benighted and perplexed, the tract not being distinguishable, though the moon began to shine. We dismounted to lead our horses, when the janizary, who was a fat bulky man, and distressed by the bushes, which entangled in his long garments, bemoaned his situation, in broken Italian, with the most plaintive accents. We still persevered, suffering now from thirst even more than from fatigue, and at length heard the sound of water in a nook below us, when the moments seemed hours as we descended to it. After this refreshment we pushed on as well as we could, expecting to meet soon with some house or village, and commiserating our men and horses embroiled, as we conceived, with our baggage on the mountain behind us.

About two in the morning our whole attention was fixed by the barking of dogs, which, as we advanced, became exceedingly furious. Deceived by the light of the moon, we now fancied we could see a village, and were much mortified to find only a station of poor goat-herds, without even a shed, and nothing for our horses to eat. They were lying, wrapped in their thick capots or loose coats, by some glimmering embers, among the bushes in a dale, under a spreading tree by

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the fold. They received us hospitably, heaping on fresh fuel, and producing caimac, or sour curds, and coarse bread, which they toasted for us on the coals. We made a scanty meal sitting on the ground, lighted by the fire and by the moon; after which, sleep suddenly overpowered me. On waking I found my two companions by my side, sharing in the comfortable cover of the janizary's cloke, which he had carefully spread over us. I was now much struck with the wild appearance of the spot. The tree was hung with rustic utensils; the she-goats in a pen, sneezed, and bleated, and rustled to and fro; the shrubs, by which our horses stood, were leafless, and the earth bare; a black cauldron with milk was simmering over the fire; and a figure more than gaunt or savage, close by us, was struggling on the ground with a kid, whose ears he had slit, and was endeavouring to cauterize with a piece of red hot iron.

We had now the mortification to hear, that our labour was fruitless, and that we must return the way we came, both we and our horses fasting. We left the goat-herds, and found the tract, which we had passed in the dark, full of danger even by day. We consumed near four hours on the mountain in going back. Descending from it to the beach we espied one of our Armenians, who was seeking us with a guide. They conducted us to Giaur-Changlee, a small Greek village near a shallow stream. By the way was a mean church, with a ruined inscription in the portico. We were welcomed by our men, who were waiting, in great perplexity and anxiety, at the house of the papas or priest. They had been out the whole night in quest of us, discharging their guns and pistols, hoping the report would reach us; but in vain. We rested at Changlee the remainder of the day.

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The next morning, April the 9th, it rained; but about ten we mounted, and leaving the bay on our left hand, proceeded with a guide toward Mycale. We soon came to Turkish Changlee, which is seated higher up by a stream, then rapid and turbid. I saw by the mosque an inscription, which I wished to copy, but was accidentally the last of our caravan; and after our late adventure was cautious of separating from the rest. There, it is likely, was the site of Panionium, and of the temple of Neptune. The river was named the Gæsus or Gessus, and entered the sea on the coast called Trogilia. Two days before, the stream was inconsiderable, the mouth not wide, and crossed by a bar of sand.

The sacred region Panionia ending, as we supposed, a broken pavement carried us over some roots of Mycale to a pleasant valley, in which a water-course commences. Several copious rills descended from the sides of the mountain, on which was an over-shot mill or two. The torrent farther on had torn down the banks, which were steep, with corn standing thick on the very brink. At a fountain by the way is an ancient coffin with an inscription in Greek. I could read only a couple of the lines. About two we came in sight of Suki, and went on, without stopping, to Giaur-Kelibesh, where we arrived, April the 9th, at five in the evening.

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CHAP. XLVII.

At Kelibesh—Zingari or gypsies—Women lamenting—Easter—A phenomenon—Remark.

GIAUR-KELIBESH is a small village, inhabited, as the name imports, by Christians or Greeks. It is situated on the east-side of Mount Mycale, the houses rising on a slope, and enjoying a fine view over the plain. The church is mean, and was encompassed with graves. It appeared as a place recently settled. We were here not far from the ruins of Priene, on which we employed some days, returning before sunset to Kelibesh.

During our stay at the village, some of the vagrant people, called Atzincari or Zingari, the gypsies of the east, came thither with a couple of large apes, which, their masters singing to them, performed a great variety of feats with extraordinary alertness, and a dexterity not to be imagined, such as raised highly our opinion of the docility and capacity of that sagacious animal.

One evening, coming from the ruins, we found an old woman sitting by the church on the grave of her daughter, who had been buried about two years. She wore a black veil, and pulling the ends alternately, bowed her head down to her bosom; and at the same time lamented aloud, singing in an uniform dismal cadence, with very few pauses. She continued thus above an hour, when it grew dark; fulfilling a measure of tributary sorrow, which the Greeks superstitiously

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believe to be acceptable, and beneficial, to the souls of the deceased. The next morning a man was interred, the wife following the body; tearing her long dishevelled tresses in agony; calling him her life, her love; demanding the reason of his leaving her; and expostulating with him on his dying, in terms the most expressive of conjugal endearments and affection.

The Greeks now celebrated Easter. A small bier, prettily decked with orange and citron buds, jasmine, flowers, and boughs, was placed in the church, with a Christ crucified rudely painted on board, for the body. We saw it in the evening; and before day-break were suddenly awakened by the blaze and crackling of a large bonfire, with singing and shouting in honour of the resurrection. They made us presents of coloured eggs, and cakes of Easter-bread.

The weather had been unsettled. The sky was blue, and the sun shone, but a wet, wintry north-wind swept the clouds along the top of the range of Mycale. We were sitting on the floor early one morning at breakfast, with the door, which was toward the mountain, open; when we discovered a small rainbow just above the brow. The sun was then peeping only over the opposite mountain, and, as it got higher, the arch widened and descended toward us; the cattle, feeding on the slope, being seen through it, tinged with its various colours as it passed down, and seeming in the bow. This phenomenon is probably not uncommon in the mountainous region of Ionia and Greece.

Let us suppose a devout heathen one of our company, when this happened. On perceiving the bow descend, he would have fancied Iris was coming, with a message to the earth, from Jupiter Pluvius; and if he had beheld the bow

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ascend in like manner, which at some seasons, and in certain situations he might do, he would have confidently pronounced that the goddess had performed her errand, and was going back to heaven.

CHAP. XLVIII.

The citadel of Priene—Descent from it—Remains of the city—The wall and gate-ways—Taken by Bajazet.

THE morning after we arrived at Kelibesh, we set out to survey the ruins of Priene, with the Greek, at whose house we lodged, for our guide. He led us first through the village up to the acropolis or citadel; the ascent lasting an hour, the track bad, by breaks in the mountain, and small cascades. We then arrived on a summit of Mycale, large, distinct, and rough, with stunted trees and deserted cottages, encircled, except toward the plain, by an ancient wall of the masonry called *Pseudisodomum*. This has been repaired, and made tenable in a later age by additional out-works. A steep, high, naked rock rises behind; and the area terminates before in a most abrupt and formidable precipice, from which we looked down with wonder on the diminutive objects beneath us. The massive heap, of a temple below appeared, to the naked eye, but as chippings of marble.*

A winding track leads down the precipice to the city. The way was familiar to our guide, and a lad, his son, who was with us. We listened to their assurances, and enticed by a

* See a view in the *Ionian Antiquities*.

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fair setting out, followed them; but it soon became difficult and dangerous. The steps cut in the rock were narrow, the path frequently not wider than the body, and so steep as scarcely to allow footing. The sun shone full upon us, and was reverberated by the rugged side of the mountain, to which we leaned, avoiding as much as possible the frightful view of the abyss beneath us, and shrinking from the brink. The long-continued descent made the whole frame quiver; and, looking up from the bottom, we were astonished at what we had done. We could discern no track, but the rock appeared quite perpendicular; and a soaring eagle was below the top of the precipice. At the temple we were joined by our servants, who led our horses down on the side opposite to that which we ascended; and with them came the fat janizary, who had very wisely sneaked off on perceiving our intention.

The temple of Minerva Polias, though prostrate, was a remain of Ionian elegance and grandeur too curious to be hastily or slightly examined. An account of it, with a view and plates of the architecture, has been published at the expense of the society of *Dilettanti*. Several inscribed marbles remain in the heap.* When entire, it overlooked the city, which was seated on the side of the mountain, flat beneath flat, in gradation, to the edge of the plain. The areas are levelled, and the communication is preserved by steps cut in the slopes. Below the temple are broken columns, and pieces of marble, the remnants of edifices of the Ionic and Doric orders. Farther down is the ground plat of the stadium, by the city-wall. The area was narrow, and the seats ranged only on the side

* Inscript. Ant. p. 14, 15, 16.

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facing the plain. In the mountain, on the left hand, going from the temple, is the recess, with some vestiges of the theatre. Among the rubbish and scattered marbles is an inscription,* with a fragment or two, and ruins of churches, but no wells or mosques, as at Miletus. The whole circuit of the wall of the city is standing, besides several portions within it, worthy of admiration for their solidity and beauty. It descends on each side of the precipice, and is the boundary next the plain.

Priene, not including the citadel, had three gate-ways. One is toward Kelibesh, and has without it vaults of sepulchres. The entrance was not wide. A part of the arch, consisting of a single row of massive stones, still remains; but those on which it rests are so corroded by age, broken, or distorted, as to seem every moment ready to yield, and let down their load. A rugged way leads to a second opening in the wall opposite to this, and as we guessed, about a mile from it; beyond which are likewise vaults of sepulchres. Between these was a gate facing the plain; and on the left hand going out of it is a hole, resembling the mouth of an oven, in the side of a square tower; and over it an inscription in small characters, exceedingly difficult to be read.† It signifies, that a certain Cyprian, in his sleep, had beheld Ceres and Proserpine, arrayed in white; and that, in three visions, they had enjoined the worship of a hero, the guardian of the city, and pointed out the place, where, in obedience to them, he had erected the god. This was probably some local hero, whose little image was set in the wall, and whose name and memory have perished.

The modern history of Priene, as well as of Miletus, is very

* Inscript. Ant. p. 14, 15, 16. † Inscript. Ant. p. 13.

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imperfect. It is now called Samsun and Samsun-kalesi, which names seem not very recent. Samsun is among the places taken in 1391 by Bajazet, who subdued Ionia.

CHAP. XLIX.

Mount Titanus—Rocks in the plain—The Mæander—We are entangled on the mountain—Benighted—Arrive at Myás.

We have mentioned in a preceding chapter, that on Gallesus we saw a summit remarkably craggy. The clouds rest on its tops, which, being weather-worn, are of a whitish shining aspect. These continued long visible in various parts of the country, and sometimes far remote. The ancient name of the mountain was Titanus, taken from their colour as resembling chalk.* Beneath the ridge on the south-side, by a lake, is Bafí or Capoumoulú, six hours, as we were told, from Kelibesh. The Greek our host undertook to conduct us thither.

We left the village, on the 15th of April, at seven in the morning. We found the torrent-bed, which occasioned our perplexity in going to Miletus, less formidable here, crossing it by a wooden bridge made for foot passengers. It had received some water from the late rains, which had also flooded the plain at the foot of the mountain. The air was sharp; and snow, recently fallen, glistened on the northern summits. About nine we came to three distinct, bare rocks, resembling islets of the Ægéan sea, but surrounded with land instead

* Q. Smyrnæus à 280. Strabo, p. 439.

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of water. On one is a village named Osebashá, and on the side next Priene is a very wide torrent-bed.

We went on, and after half an hour were stopped by the Mæander. Here we were ferried over in a triangular float, with a rope, in two minutes and a half. The stream was broad, rapid, and muddy, but low within the banks, which were indented by the gradual sinking of its surface. We ascended the mountain, and enjoyed a delightful view of the river, crossing with mazy windings from the foot of Mount Messogis, the northern boundary of the plain.

We were informed at the ferry, that the road to Bafi, distant four hours from thence, was bad. We met on it a few camels, which carry their burthens high on their backs, or I should have described it as not absolutely impassable. It lies over a branch of Titanus, which mountain is uncommonly rough and horrid, consisting of huge, single, irregular, and naked rocks piled together: poised, as it were, on a point; or hanging dreadfully over the track; and interspersed with low shrubs and stunted oaks. Our horses suffered exceedingly, sliding down, or jammed with their burthens, or violently forced from the road, and rolling over the steeps; and our men were much jaded with loading and unloading them, and bruised by transporting our baggage on their shoulders at the narrow passes.

We were benighted in this wild mountain, when we came to a strait, where the difficulty seemed insurmountable. Three or four of us at length pushed through; and, leading our horses into a vale beneath, committed them to the care of the janizary. We then joined our companions in distress, who were perplexed above; and, lighting candles, began, all hands, to carry down our baggage piece-meal. The Greek

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atoned in some measure for bringing us this way by his laborious activity, in which he was equalled by our Swiss; but the Armenians are a dull and heavy race. We pitched our tent near a tree, not far from a rill, on a green spot surrounded with brown, naked rocks.

Our toil was renewed in the morning, but about noon we got clear from the mountain. When near Bafi, we entered a small plain half-encircled with a bare ridge. This avenue had been barricadoed. We pitched our tent soon after upon a pleasant green area within the city-walls of Myûs.

CHAP. L.

Of Myûs—The site and remains—Graves, &c.—An oratory—Another—Ruined churches and monasteries—Of Tymbria—Gnats and flies.

THE story of Myûs is remarkable, but not singular. A town by Pergamum, named Atarneus, had suffered in the same manner. Myûs was originally seated on a bay of the sea, not large, but abounding in fish. Hence, this city was given to Themistocles to furnish that article for his table. The bay changed into a lake, and became fresh. Myriads of gnats swarmed on it, and the town was devoured, as it were, from the water. The Myusians retired from this enemy to Miletus, carrying away all their moveables, and the statues of their gods. They were incorporated with the Milesians, and sacrificed, and gave their suffrage with them at the Panionian congress. Pausanius relates, that nothing remained at Myûs in his time, but a temple of Bacchus of white stone.*

* P 207. Vitruvius, l. 4. c. 1. Strabo, p. 636. Diodorus, sic. l. 11. c. 57.

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The site of Myûs is as romantic as its fortune was extraordinary. The wall encloses a jumble of naked rocks rudely piled, of a dark dismal hue, with precipices and vast hollows, from which perhaps stone has been cut. A few huts, inhabited by Turkish families, are of the same colour, and scarcely distinguishable. Beyond these, fronting the lake, you find on the left hand a theatre hewn in the mountain, with some mossy remnants of the wall of the proscenium or front; but the marble seats are removed. Between the huts and the lake are several terraces with steps cut as at Priene. One, by which our tent stood, was a quadrangular area edged with marble fragments; and we conjectured, it had been the market place. By another were stones ornamented with shields of a circular form. But the most conspicuous ruin is the small temple of Bacchus, which is seated on an abrupt rock, with the front only, which is toward the east accessible. The roof is destroyed. The cell is well-built, of smooth stone with a brown crust on it. The portico was *in Antis*. We measured some marble fragments belonging to it, and regretted that any of the members were missing. This edifice has been used as a church, and the entrance walled up with patch-work. The marbles, which lie scattered about, the broken columns, and mutilated statues, all witness a remote antiquity. We met with some inscriptions, but not legible. The city-wall was constructed, like that at Ephesus, with square towers, and is still standing, except toward the water. It runs up the mountain-slope so far as to be in some places hardly discernible.

Without the city are the cemeteries of its early inhabitants; graves cut in the rock, of all sizes, suited to the human stature at different ages; with innumerable flat stones, which

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served as lids. Some are yet covered, and many open, and by the lake filled with water. The lids are overgrown, with a short, dry, brown moss, their very aspect evincing old age. We were shewn one inscription,* close by a small hut in a narrow pass of the mountain westward, on marble, in large characters. It records a son of Seleucus, who died young, and the affliction of his parents; concluding with a tender expostulation with them on the inefficacy, and impropriety of their immoderate sorrow. Nearer the city, among some trees, is a well with the base of a column perforated on the mouth.

A couple of Myusians, who undertook to shew something extraordinary, conducted me, with one of my companions, up into the mountain on the east side of the city; on which are many traces of ancient walls and towers. We climbed several rocks in the way; our guides with bare feet, carrying in their hands their papouches or slippers, which were of red leather; a colour not allowed to be worn, except by Turks. We came in about an hour to a large rock, which was scooped out, and had the inside painted with the history of Christ in compartments, and with heads of bishops and saints. It is in one of the most wild and retired recesses imaginable. Before the picture of the crucifixion was a heap of stones piled as an altar, and scraps of charcoal, which had been used in burning incense; with writing on the wall.

Going back, I tarried with one of the Turks, while a shower fell, in a single rock, hollowed out; with the door-way above the level of the ground. It stands distinct and tall. On the dome within, Christ was pourtrayed, and on the round beneath, the Panagia, or Virgin, with saints. The figures are large and

* Inscript. Ant. p. 18

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at full length; the design and colouring such as may be viewed with pleasure. On the plaster are inscriptions painted, and faint from age. One, which I carefully copied,* informs us, the oratory had been beautified, for the sake of the prayers, and salvation of a certain sub-deacon and his parents. Here seemed to have been a quarry. The brown rocks had graves on their tops, and the soft fresh turf between them was enamelled with flowers.

It may be inferred from the remnants of the monasteries and churches, which are numerous, that Myûs was re-peopled, when monkery, spreading from Egypt, toward the end of the fourth century, over-ran the Greek and Latin empires. The lake, abounding in large and fine fish, afforded an article of diet, not unimportant under a ritual, which enjoined frequent abstinence from flesh. It probably contributed to render this place, what it appears to have been, a grand resort of fanciful devotees and secluded hermits, a nursery of saints, another Athos, or holy mountain.

We were supplied with corn for our horses, and with provisions from a village by the head of the lake; where are vestiges of ancient building. There probably was Thymbria,† a village in Caria, within four stadia, or half a mile of Myûs; by which was a Charonium or sacred cave; one of those which the ancients supposed to communicate with the infernal regions, and to be filled with the deadly vapours of lake Avernus. We purchased bad water from the huts in Myûs at a dear rate; and fish taken in the lake with a small trident. The carp here, and by the Mæander, were extremely fine.

The old nuisance of Myûs, gnats, swarmed already in the

* Inscript. Ant. p. 18. † Strabo, p. 579. 636.

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air, teasing us exceedingly; and, toward the evening, the inside of our tent was blackened with flies, clustering round about the poles. One of our men, thinking to expel and destroy them by a sudden explosion of gunpowder, procured a momentary riddance, and set fire to the canvas in three or four places.

CHAP. LI.

The lake of Myûs—An islet—A rock in the lake—Another islet—Another—Junction of the lake with the Mæander—Altars and niches.

The lake of Myûs is visible both from Priene and Miletus, and is called by the neighbouring Greeks (θάλασσα) *The Sea*. The water is not drinkable. We observed the inbat here as at Smyrna; a breeze lightly skimming along the smooth surface, then springing gently up, and increasing with the day; the waves agitated, and moving in regular progression toward the shore. On the edges and round about it are square towers and ruinous castles, besides one at Myûs, erected in times of war or rapine, to secure and command the passes.

The lake, which is much longer than broad, has in it several rocky islets. One, near Myûs, is surrounded with an ordinary wall inclosing the ruin of a church. The water is so shallow that we once waded across. It was chosen as the best point of view for a drawing of the city and mountain. Our servant found there the nest of some water-fowl in a hole of

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the wall, filled with large eggs, speckled with red. Among the rubbish was a pillar, on which a cross is carved, and a marble with a sepulchral inscription,* "Heraclides, son of Sotades, (Νεωκορος) *Temple-sweeper* to Hecate." This goddess, perhaps, was worshipped by the Charonium near Thymbria. The persons, who enjoyed that title, had the general care of the temples, to which they belonged. The office was accounted very honourable. It was sometimes conferred on cities, and is found upon record on their medals, and other remaining monuments.

Lower down the lake is a rock, which I visited in a boat, or rather a few boards badly fastened together. I had with me the Swiss and one of the natives. It is joined to the continent by a low sand-bank, and has a wall of despicable patch-work round it. Mount Titanus is the margin of the lake on that side. Our return to Myûs was attended with some risk. It was evening, our boat slight, the gale strong, and the sea rough.

I was desirous to go down the lake to its mouth, as we supposed, eight or ten miles distant. The inbat seemed regular, and it was expected would waft us pleasantly back. We embarked in the morning in a larger boat, but could procure no sail. We rode to a picturesque islet, beyond the rock, covered with ruins of a monastery, and found an inscription in Greek over the door-way of the church, but the letters so disguised by ligatures exceedingly complicated, that I could neither copy nor decipher it. On a couple of marbles* in the wall is carved a double hatchet, and under it the name of the proprietor, "Jupiter of Labranda." This deity was

* Inscript. Ant. p. 18.

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much worshipped in Caria, to which province Myûs once belonged. We shall have occasion, when we arrive at Mylasa, to treat of him, and shall then explain his symbol, which occurs, not seldom, to the antiquary, and especially the medallist.

Our boat moved very heavily, but we tugged on from this islet to one in a line with it, and on the north side of the lake, overspread likewise with rubbish. On the shore we found young tortoises, lively; but so small, that we supposed they were just hatched from the eggs. The fish rose all around us, and the tops of the rocks, above the surface of the water, were covered with birds. We were amused with vast flights of fowl, some of a species unknown to us.

The Greek emperor Manuel lay near this lake with his army about the middle of the twelfth century. "His camp," says the historian,† "was situated toward the mouths of the Mæander. There an immense quantity of water issues forth at the feet of the mountains, as it were the produce of a thousand springs; and spreading a deluge over the adjacent country, at first composes a lake, and then going on cuts a deep bed, and forms a river." We were now told that its junction with the Mæander is by a channel about half a mile long. The city of Myûs had anciently an intercourse by water with Miletus, and a communication with the sea, from which a boat might still pass up to it.

We had observed at Myûs many small square niches cut; and rocks, with steps to ascend up to the top. These places, it may be conjectured, were designed for the worship of the watery divinities; to receive propitiatory offerings or votive

† Cinnamus, p. 66.

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tablets; the memorials of real or imaginary perils and escapes; the tribute of their suppliants distressed and relieved in their occupation, or voyages on the lake.

CHAP. LII.

First discovery of Myûs—To Mersenet—To Miletus—To Oranduick—The night—To Suki and Smyrna—Remark on the water-course in the plain—Account of a journey in 1673—*Remarks on it.*

We were led unexpectedly to the discovery of Myûs in our first journey, on the way to Miletus from Mylasa in Caria. We had crossed the mountain, and our guide, at the head of the lake, leaving the road to Miletus, which is on the opposite side, conducted us to Myûs. We dismounted at the castle, and took a cursory survey of the ruins. It was evening before we had finished, and too late to attempt reaching Miletus.

We had consumed our whole store of provisions, which consisted of a few hard eggs, some grapes and bread, on our arrival here. We now found we could procure neither corn for our horses, nor any kind of food to allay our own hunger, which began to be importunate. We mounted, and went in quest of a lodging, passing from village to village, and inquiring, in vain, for corn. At length we were benighted among the hills on the south side of the lake, with jackalls howling round us. After some time we stopped at Mersenet, a village upon Mount Latmus, which afforded us a dish of boiled wheat, and some must of wine, with honey; but the quantity so small, it rather pacified the present cravings of

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appetite, than satisfied the stomach. Nothing remained for the morning, and both we and our horses set out fasting.

The way to Miletus, after descending the mountain, was by the lake to the plain. We had then the Mæander winding on our right, and Mount Latmus bordering the level green on our left, both at a distance. Our course was 20° north of west, and in five hours we arrived the second time at Miletus.

Our lodging at this place before had been a smith's shop, in which we lay very roughly, straitened for room, and pestered exceedingly with gnats and other insects. We had now no inclination to resume it; but resolved, after resting awhile, to go on to a village bearing north-east from Miletus, distant three hours, called Oranduick. We ferried over the Mæander in the evening, and crossing the plain, were surrounded on the way by vast packs of jackalls, hunting in full cry. It was dark when we arrived, and were admitted into a small mud-built hut, in which were seven or eight Turks.

Before we had been long at this place, we would gladly have exchanged for the shop at Miletus, with all its inconveniencies. The conversation, which passed among the Turks, gave room to apprehend bad purposes, and our men in general were very uneasy. It thundered and lightened exceedingly at a distance; but, sleeping in the air by a fire, about which some of them were sitting, seemed to me preferable to heat and suspected company within the hut. In a short time, after a dead silence, the village-dogs began on a sudden to bark, the cattle to low as if in distress, and the jackalls to howl; a violent rush of wind had scattered away the embers of the fire, with my bed-cloths, and rain was falling heavily in large drops. A flash of blue lightning directed me to

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the hut, which in an instant was crowded with our men and baggage, and almost as soon let in the wet on us. This storm, however, had its use, as by assembling us, it frustrated any evil intentions of the Turks.

After a most uncomfortable night, we mounted, at seven in the morning, for Suki. Our course was nearly north by west, across the middle of the plain. We left the rocks or knolls, which we observed in our way from Priene to the ferry, with Osebashá, upon the right hand, and passed a wide water-course twice. The soil was slimy and slippery, and our guide, who was on a grey horse, like his rider, stricken in years, had a fall, but was not hurt. We arrived at Suki after ten, somewhat indisposed from our late sufferings, and the janizary complaining of an old rupture. We left the khan in the afternoon; our little Turk, whom we had paid and dismissed, standing in the road, and following us with good wishes, the effusions of his gratitude and regard. We lay at Scala Nova, and the next night at Osebanar, beyond Aiasalúck. We were on horseback again before day-break, and reached Smyrna in the evening.

In traversing the plain back to Suki, as above related, the water-course, which embarrassed us so much in going to Miletus, did not occur. The conclusion was obvious, that it had been worn by torrents from Mount Mycale. In this opinion I was afterwards confirmed by a view of it from the precipice of Priene. It is continued from the valley, where coming from Changlee, we observed the banks steep and torn with corn standing on the brink. The bed approaching Suki is wide and shallow, the ground being hard. It then cuts the plain with many windings, its direction most straight before Priene; and, farther on, crosses from near Mycale, 20m west

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of south, its mazes very intricate; and unites with the Mæander below Miletus, deepening as it advances, and swelled after heavy rains with rills from the sides of the mountain.

Wheler† and Spon are indebted for the account, which they have published of this region, to a journey begun in June, 1673, by Dr. Pickering and some merchants of Smyrna. These travellers, quitting Changlee, about four in the morning, gained the top of Mycale, on which they had an extensive view, and one of them designed the mazes of the Mæander. They descended by a difficult and narrow track, and in two hours came into the plain, having left behind the remains of a castle eastward. From Samsun or Priene, then a village at the foot of Mycale, they passed through a large plain to the Mæander, called by the Turks Boiuc-Minder, or the *Great Mæander*, which they crossed at a ferry, where it was about sixteen fathom broad, and as many deep in the middle, as the man informed them, with the current very swift. About two hours after this, they arrived at Palatsha, where they pitched their tents on the banks of a large river, which, running through a great lake, falls into the Mæander.

The reader will observe, that these travellers cross the river but once between Sansum and Palatsha. The ferry therefore was below the junction of the two beds. There the stream was called *The Great Mæander*, probably to distinguish it, not, as has been supposed, from the Cayster, which is remote, but from the other, or *Little River*, which it receives. This they mistook for the principal stream, being ignorant of the true Mæander, with which the lake of Myûs communicates, and which runs by Palatsha. This also lay beneath

† P. 267.

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them, when on Mount Mycale, and was seen distinctly, as in a chart. Their draughtsman delineated its turnings and windings for those of the old and famous river; and its mazes, which helped to impose on them, prevented even the suspicion of an error.

CHAP. LIII.

The Mæander muddy—The bed—Its course to the lake—To the sea—Change in the face of the region—Its ancient geography The islands before Miletus—The rocks of Osebashá—Increase of land—Its progress unnoticed—Future encroachments.

We have already mentioned the Mæander among the rivers of Asia Minor, anciently noted for the production of new land. The stream, it was remarked, in passing through the ploughed grounds of Phrygia and Caria, collected much slime, and bringing it down continually, added to the coast at its mouth.

The Mæander was indictable for removing the soil, when its margin tumbled in; and the person, who recovered damages, was paid from the income of the ferries.* The downfalls were very frequent, and are supposed, with probability, to be the cause of the curvity of the bed; the earth carried away from one part lodging in another, and replacing the loss sustained on one side, by adding to the opposite bank.

We have described the stream as crossing from near Mount Messogis to the foot of Titanas opposite to Priene; and on

* Strabo, p. 580.

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that side it continues, running toward the mouth of the lake of Myûs. Probably the level of the intermediate plain determined it in that course; the soil washed from Mycale, or supplied by the torrent, raising the surface there, and forbidding its approach. The current repelled by the rocks of Osebashá, and contracted about the ferry, wore its present channel, while the mud was soft and yielding; and the bed, which we passed near them, was created from the same obstruction, the water after floods running off there more forcibly, as meeting with more resistance.

The river turns from the mouth of the lake, with many windings, through groves of tamarisk, toward Miletus; proceeding by the right wing of the theatre in mazes to the sea, which is in view, and distant, as we computed, about eight miles; the plain smooth and level as a bowling green, except certain knolls extant in it, near mid-way, before Miletus.* One of these, the northernmost, is seen distinct, as a hillock; and on a bigger ranging with it is a village named Bautenau. In that part is the union of the water-course of Priene with the river, which winds to the south of the hillocks, and has on its margin, two or more miles beyond, a small fortress. The extremity of the plain by the shore appeared, from the precipice of Priene, marshy, or bare, and as mud. Such was the face of this region, when we saw it. How different from its aspect, when the mountains were boundaries of a gulf, and Miletus, Myus, and Priene, maritime cities.†

Strabo, a geographer, as exact as comprehensive, whose volume is indeed an inestimable treasure, will furnish us, as it were, with a chart, enabling us to contemplate this coast,

* Strabo, p. 580. † See a view in the *Ionian Antiquities*.

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as it existed toward the commencement of the Christian era; before a famous sophist* affirmed of it, that the river had taken the sea from the navigator, and given it to the husbandman to be divided into fields; that furrows were seen in the place of waves, and kids sporting in the room of dolphins; and that instead of hearing the hoarse mariner, you were delighted with the sweet echo of the pastoral pipe.

Miletus had then four ports, one of them very capacious; and before it was a cluster of small islands. Beyond Miletus, the coast winding, was a bay called the Latmian, from Latmus, the adjacent mountain. In this bay was "Heraclea under Latmus," a small town, once called Latmos, with a road for vessels; and near that place, after crossing a rivulet, you was shewn a cave, with the sepulchre of Endymion. On this mountain, it was fabled, Luna cast that hero and hunter into a profound sleep, to have the pleasure of saluting him. After Heraclea was Pyrrha, an inconsiderable town, the distance between them by sea about one hundred stadia, or twelve miles and a half. From Miletus to Heraclea was a little more, coasting the bay; but from Miletus to Pyrrha,† in a straight course, was only thirty stadia, or

* Himerius. Photius, p. 1135.

† The Latin interpreter of Strabo has omitted the words *From Miletus to Pyrrha*. See also Cellarius, p. 52.

The geographer, after mentioning slightly Pyrrha and Heraclea as inconsiderable towns, advertises his reader, that the compass of his work requires him not to dwell but on places of note. This passage is grosly mistranslated. The interpreter will frequently mislead those, who attend not to the original; and is, in this instance, the sole cause why Wheler, finding himself puzzled, suspects Strabo to be less accurate in this portion of his work than *he pretends to be*.

The river running by the theatre of Miletus perplexed Wheler exceedingly. He supposes Miletus to have been Pyrrha, and Branchidæ to be Heraclea. Spon, with

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three miles and three quarters, so much longer was the voyage by the shore. From Pyrrha to the mouth of the Mæander, were fifty stadia, or six miles and a quarter, the ground slimy and marshy. From thence you sailed up to Myûs,* thirty stadia, in skiffs which plyed. After the mouth of the Mæander was the coast against Priene. The sea had once washed the wall of this city, and it had two ports, one of which shut up; but then it was seen within land, forty stadia, or five miles above the shore.

The principal island in the cluster before Miletus was Lade. There, when invaded by Darius, the Ionians assembled three

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the same materials, suppresses the mention of any difficulty; and, on the authority of the inscription on the theatre, boldly calls the place Miletus. Cellarius prefers the opinion of Wheler. He cites Strabo to prove, the distance between Miletus and the mouth of the river was cx stadia; and observing it only x in Pliny, supposes the numeral c omitted. But the calculation from Strabo is imperfect and erroneous, the emendation of Pliny neither well founded nor necessary; and it happens, that Spon is superficially right, while Cellarius with Wheler is learnedly mistaken. D'Anville has likewise followed Wheler. See *Analyse de la Carte intitulée Les Côtes de la Gréce*, &c. p. 48.

It were easy to enlarge on the errors of Cellarius in this part of his work, and to reflect back the unmerited censures, which he bestows on the ancient writers, who have treated on the places. See pages 51, 52, 53, 54.

We may with reason wonder, that so obvious a clue to these intricacies and seeming contradictions, as that we have given, has hitherto escaped the modern travellers, geographers, and annotators, in general; especially as each class professes to take Strabo for their surest guide or principal counsel.

* The distance between Miletus and Myûs, by water, seems to have been one hundred and ten stadia, or thirteen miles and three quarters.

	Stadia.
From Miletus to Pyrrha - - - - - - - - - -	30
From Pyrrha to the mouth of the Mæander - - -	50
From thence to Myûs - - - - - - - - - - -	30

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hundred and sixty triremes, and engaged his fleet of six hundred. The Milesians had eighty ships, and formed the wing toward the east. Next to them were the Prienèans with twelve, and Myusians with three. The island was afterwards seized by Alexander; and, while he besieged Miletus, was the station of the Greek admiral, who blocked up the port. The Milesians, when he was about to storm the city, tried to escape, some in skiffs, some swimming on their bucklers, but were intercepted; only three hundred getting to a steep islet, which they resolved to defend. This probably was one by Lade. Two, near Miletus, called Camelidæ, *The Camels*, were among the less considerable. A single one, it is likely the northernmost hillock, was called Asteria from Asterius, whose skeleton, remarkable for its size, was shewn there. He reigned, it is related, before the Ionic migration. By the Tragiæ, probably mud banks and shoals formed by the river, were other islets, the stations of robbers.

"Nature," says Pliny, "has taken islands from the sea, and joined them to the continent; from Miletus Dromiscos, and Perne; and Hybanda, once an island of Ionia, is now two hundred stadia, twenty-five miles, from the coast." Nature in this district was the Mæander, and the islands here specified are perhaps the rocks of Osebashá. The river has been, as it were, the parent of its own bed.

The bay, on which Myûs was once seated, changed into a lake, when the Mæander, by lodging slime at the mouth, had cut off the ingress of the salt water. The mountains were an obstacle, or the whole recess would have been filled and converted into a plain. Their rills also supplied the fresh water, which generated the gnats. The land grew, asit

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were, daily, and was continually removing the sea farther from the lake. The mouth of the Mæander was then seen between Miletus and Priene; and this city had a wide plain before it. Afterwards it approached within ten stadia, or a mile and a quarter of Miletus; and the bays above that city were rendered firm ground. The traveller, who shall ride along the foot of Mount Latmus, eastward from Miletus, will, I doubt not, discover the site of Heraclea; and the rivulet may direct him even now to the cave of Endymion. Pyrrha has been mentioned as within land. The space between Priene and Miletus was added, in no long time, to the continent. The ports of this city ceased to be navigable; and, by degrees, Lade and Astera, and the islets near them, were encircled with soil. Before this happened, the water-course of Priene entered the sea, separate from the Mæander.

Miletus, deprived by the Mæander of the principal advantages of its situation, experienced, with the cities its neighbours, a gradual decay, which will end in total extinction, as it were, by a natural death, after a lingering illness. The progress of the changes, as might be expected, were unattended to in the barbarous ages, as not sudden; or unnoticed, as not important. But we are informed, that a place by the shore, where the river entered the sea in the year 866, was called *The Gardens*;† and, that the Greek emperor, Manuel, about the middle of the twelfth century, finding that region well watered and beautiful to the eye, resolved to refresh his army there, and to forget the toils of war in the pleasures of the chace.‡

From the alterations already effected, we may infer that

† Cedrenus, p. 566. Hist. Byzant. t. 8. ‡ Cinnamus, p. 82.

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the Mæander will still continue to increach; that the recent earth, now soft, will harden, and the present marshes be dry. The shore will in time protrude so far, that the promontories, which now shelter it, will be seen inland. It will unite with Samos, and in a series of years extend to remoter islands, if the soil, while fresh and yielding, be not carried away by some current setting without the mountains. If this happen, it will be distributed along the coast, or wafted elsewhere in the tide, and form new plains. Some barren rock of the adjacent deep may be enriched with a fertile domain, and other cities rise and flourish from the bounty of the Mæander.

CHAP. LIV.

We enter Caria—At Ghauzocleu—Booths of the Turcomans—Iasus—Remains of the city—The sepulchres—Inscriptions—Iasian marbles at Scio—Journey continued.

In a preceding chapter we conducted the reader from the promontory Posidium, and the temple of Apollo Didyméus, to the confines of Ionia and Caria. We shall now pursue our journey over the Carian mountains.

We ascended the lofty mountain Grius, and descended by a difficult winding track. About five in the evening we arrived at Ghauzocleu, a village fronting a pleasant bay, which is land-locked. The situation is romantic, amid naked rocks, pine and olive-trees, the latter then laden with black fruit. Under the trees were several wells, and women passing to and fro with their faces muffled. Some children, who

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were gathered about a fire, on seeing us, ran away. The aga entertained us very hospitably. We sat on a carpet after the Turkish fashion cross-legged, the table a large salver, on which the dishes were placed one at a time, and removed in quick succession. We had been exposed this day, without any shelter, to the sun. An accidental fire had scorched the bushes by the way, and destroyed their leaves, and the ground was bare and parched.

We were on horseback again at seven in the morning, and after a few minutes in a beautiful plain covered with vines. Some houses were dispersed in it. We then passed over huge mountains, branches of Grius, clothed with pines; and by immense precipices. The fire had laid waste large tracts. At ten minutes past ten we had in view several fine bays, and a plain full of booths, with the Turcomans sitting by the doors, under sheds resembling porticoes; or by shady trees, surrounded with flocks of goats. We turned to the right, and riding by a well in the plain, and then along the shore, arrived at Iasus, now called Assyn-kalesi.

The Iasians were a colony of Argives, and afterwards of Milesians. Their city covered a rocky islet lying near the continent, to which it is now united by a small isthmus, and was only ten stadia, or a mile and a quarter in circumference. It had a port, and was maintained by the sea, which abounded in fish; its territory being rough and barren. Several stories were current, of their eagerness to purchase that article, and one is recorded. A citharist or harper was displaying his skill, and the Iasians were very attentive, until a sale of fish was announced by the sound of a bell. Immediately they all hurried away, except one person, who was hard of hearing. "Sir," says the artist to him, "I am indeed in-

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finitely obliged to you for the honour you do me, and for your love of harmony. Every body besides left me on the ringing of the bell."—" How!" he replied, " has the bell rung? then, sir, your servant."*

The north side of the rock of Iasus is abrupt and inaccessible. The summit is occupied by a mean but extensive fortress. At the foot is a small portion of flat ground. On that and on the acclivities, the houess once stood, within a narrow compass, bounded to the sea by the city-wall, which was regular, solid, and handsome, like that of Ephesus. This, which has been repaired in many places, now incloses rubbish, with remnants of ordinary buildings, and a few pieces of marble. Single pinks, with jonquils, grew among the thickets of mastic; and we sprung some large covies of partridges, which feed on the berries. In the side of the rock is the theatre, fronting 60m east of north, with many rows of seats remaining, but covered with soil or enveloped in bushes. On the left wing is an inscription in very large, and well-formed characters, ranging in a long line, and recording certain donations to Bacchus and the people.† Beneath, near the bottom, are several stones inscribed, but not legible. By the isthmus is the vaulted substruction of a considerable edifice; and on a jamb of the door-way are decrees engraved in a fair character, but damaged, and black with smoke; the entrance, which is lessened by a pile of stones, serving as a chimney to a few Greeks, who inhabit the ruin. Opposite to the isthmus is a flat point running out into the sea, with a small square fort at the extremity.

The sepulchres of the Iasians on the continent are very

* Strabo, p. 658. † Inscript. Ant. p. 19.

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numerous, ranging along above a mile on the slope of the mountain. They are built with a slaty stone, and perhaps were white-washed, as their aspect is now mean. They consist mostly of a single camera or vault; but one has a wall before it, and three chambers, which have been painted. Many of them have a small square stone over the entrance, inscribed, but no longer legible. In examining these, I found half of an inscription,* which was copied in 1673, and has been published incorrectly. This remnant was in a fair character, on a marble lying on a rock. Below the sepulchres are broken arches, and pieces of wall, among which is a massive coffin or two of marble standing on their basements.

A marble by the isthmus records an Iasian, who was victorious at Olympia, and the first conqueror in the Capitoline games at Rome.† We found there likewise a piece of inscribed architrave, on which, when more entire, a stoa or portico, and Diana Civica, or the tutelary goddess of the city, were mentioned.‡ By a wall, which seemed the remnant of a sepulchre, is a long inscription closely, but handsomely engraved on a slab of white marble, in which the theatre is mentioned, with the Prytanéum or town-hall, and the temples of Jupiter and Diana. While I was copying it, a Greek priest came, and displaced me somewhat roughly. I was then informed that was a church ; and the stone *the holy table*. I had given offence by sitting on it. The priest was wretchedly ignorant, and among his other absurdities, told me they had a tradition, that at the last day St. Paul will rise there, shewing the place with his foot.

A vessel from the island of Stanchio was at anchor in the

* Inscript. Ant. p. 26. † Ibid, p. 19. ‡ Ibid, p. 20.

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bay, with some small craft, with fish or laden with tobacco, figs, and cotton, the produce of the country. These often carry stones away for ballast. We had paid a piaster at Scio for leave to transcribe three marbles, which lay on the shore, and were transported from this place. They contained honorary decrees made by the Iasians.* One is of the age of Alexander the Great, and remarkable for the extreme beauty of the characters, which were as finely designed and cut as any I ever saw. These stones were part of a square pilaster before the senate-house.

On our first arrival here, a Greek, who lived in the ruin of a large sepulchre by the isthmus, declared he was comanded to suffer nobody to enter Assyn-kalesi without a written order from the aga of Melasso, to whose district the castle belonged. We offered to purchase his permission, but in vain. He knew we were going to that city, and was afraid to accept a bribe. After a short stay, finding him inflexible, we continued our journey, intending to return in a few days, as we did, with authority. This sepulchre was then our abode, and we lay in it, covering, with the Greek family, the whole floor. We were guarded by two large and fierce dogs, which were continually in motion round about, barking furiously at the jackalls, and then looking in upon us, with an attention as remarkable, as friendly and agreeable.

* Inscript. Ant. p. 19.

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CHAP. LV.

Increase of land—Hillock in a plain—Booths of the Turcomans —Site of Bargylia—Of Kindye—Of Caryanda—We arrive at Mylasa—The Turkish play of the Jarrit—Our visit to the aga.

THE frequent accessions of new land along the coast of Asia Minor will often perplex the classical traveller, especially if not aware of the alteration; and will render him suspicious of the ancient geographers, whom he consults, as of false guides, on whom he cannot depend. The cities Iasus and Bargylia were situated in the recess of the same bay, which was called the Iasian, or, more commonly, the Bargylietic; yet I inquired for the latter, as a place on the coast, without obtaining any information.

We set out from Iasus at half an hour after one; and, crossing the plain, ascended a very high mountain. At a quarter before three we had in view, beneath us, an extensive plain, in which was a Turkish village; and at the mountain-foot, a lake, which communicated by small meandering channels with one opposite, and that with the bay of Iasus. Within was a hillock, resembling one of the rocks by Osebashá, with ruins on it.

We led our horses down the mountain by a steep track, on the left hand, into a field, in which the tall stalks of Turkey wheat were standing; and, leaving behind us the distant summits of Mount Titanus, came at twenty minutes after three to a level green, occupied by Turcomans. Their

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flocks and cattle were feeding round the scattered booths; and cotton, recently gathered from the pods, was exposed on the ground to dry, or on the tops of the sheds, which are flat and covered with boughs. Beyond these we passed a wide water-course; and had the hillock again in view, through an opening on the right hand.

I wish to have my omissions supplied, as well as my errors corrected, and therefore recommend this hillock to the notice of future travellers into these countries. I have no doubt, but there was the site of Bargylia, and there a recess of the bay, since converted into a plain, which is almost inclosed with mountains.

The Iasians had a famous statue of Vesta, which, it was the general belief, neither rain nor hail would touch, though standing in the open air. A temple of Diana near Bargylia was supposed to be distinguished, and treated with like reverence by falling snow and showers. It was at a place named Kindye.*

After Bargylia on the coast were Myndus and Halicarnassus, colonies from Troezen; and between Bargylia and Myndus was the lake Caryanda, with an island in it and a town, the birth-place of Scylax, a very ancient geographer. The traveller, who shall examine the coast of Caria, will discover Caryanda, it is believed, encompassed in like manner with Bargylia, and in a plain.

Three inland cities of Caria are recorded as worthy notice, Mylasa, Stratonicea, and Alabanda. Our road to the former place lay between the mountains, branches of Grius; and by pleasant cultivated vales. The sun had set when we

* Strabo, p. 658. Polybius, p. 1108.

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arrived, and the khan was shut. A Swiss, who has been mentioned more than once, happened to be there, and looking out at a window, saw our hats; and some Greek or Armenian merchants of Smyrna, whom he informed that we were Franks, prevailed on the keeper to open the gate, though the khan was full. The Swiss had been in London, and had served in an English privateer in the war with France. He was now, after many adventures with an Hungarian, an itinerant quack-doctor. The bazar, or market, was closed, and we were distressed for food. He presently killed and dressed for us a couple of fowls, and the merchants permitted us to partake of their apartment, in which we all slept on the floor, as many as it could contain.

The merchants had free access to the aga as traders, and the Hungarian, as his physician. We delivered to them the letter from the aga of Suki, to be presented to him, and in the morning went to pay our visit. He was fond of the national and warlike diversion called *the Jarrit*, and we found him, though in a bad state of health, engaged in this violent exercise, with several Turks of distinction, in a large area, or court, before his house. The beauty and tractability of the horses, which had very rich trappings, was as surprising as the agility and address of the riders. They were galloping from all sides at once, with a confused regularity; throwing at each other the jarrit, or *blunted dart;* and recovering it from the ground, at full speed, with amazing dexterity. The music sounded, and acclamations, when any one excelled, filled the air.

We waited in the gallery with the Hungarian, and other spectators, until the game ended. We were then introduced into a spacious apartment, with a sofa, on which the aga was

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sitting, cross-legged, the mufti and a Turk or two on his right hand, his officers and attendants standing in a row, silent and respectful. He was a comely person, with a black beard. We made our obeisance, as usual, putting the right hand to the left breast, and inclining the head; and, taking our places on the sofa, produced our *firhman*. The aga, on receiving it, kissed and laid it to his forehead, and then gave it to be read. We were entertained, each with a pipe ready lighted, a spoonful of sweetmeat put into our mouths, and a cup of coffee; after which we retired, with full permission to employ our time at Mylasa as we pleased.

CHAP. LVI.

Of Mylasa—The temple of Augustus—A column—Of Euthydemus—An arch, or gateway—Other remains—A sepulchre—One cut in the rock—Temples of Jupiter—Of the double-hatchet.

MYLASA, or Mylassa, was the capital of Hecatomnus, king of Caria, and father of Mausolus. It has been described as situated by a very fertile plain, with a mountain rising above it, in which was a quarry of very fine white marble. This being near, was exceedingly convenient in building, and had contributed greatly to the beauty of the city, which, it is said, if any, was handsomely adorned with public edifices, porticoes, and temples. The latter were so numerous, that a certain musician entering the market-place, as if to make proclamation, began, instead of (Ακουετε Δημοι) *Hear ye People*, with (Ακουετε Ναοι) *Hear ye Temples*. The

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founders of the city were censured as inconsiderate in placing it beneath a steep precipice, by which it was commanded. Under the Romans it was a free city. Its distance from the sea, where nearest, or from Physcus, opposite the island of Rhodes, was eighty stadia, or ten miles. It is still a large place, commonly called Melasso. The houses are numerous, but chiefly of plaster, and mean, with trees interspersed. The air is accounted bad; and scorpions abound as anciently; entering often at the doors and windows, and lurking in the rooms. The plain is surrounded by lofty mountains, and cultivated; but was now parched and bare, except some spots green with the tobacco plant, which was in flower, and pleasing to the eye.

Our first inquiry was for the temple, erected, about twelve years before the Christian era, by the people of Mylasa to Augustus Cæsar, and the goddess Rome; which was standing not many years ago. We were shewn the basement, which remains, and were informed, the ruin had been demolished, and a new mosque, which we saw on the mountain-side, above the town, raised with the marble. The house of a Turk occupying the site, we employed the Hungarian to treat with him for admission; but he affirmed we could see nothing; and added, that there was his harám, or the apartment of his women, which was an obstacle not to be surmounted. It had six columns in front, and the whole number had been twenty-two.

On the hill, and not far from the basement of the temple, is a column, of the Corinthian order, standing, with a flat-roofed cottage, upon a piece of solid wall. It has supported a statue, and on the shaft is an inscription.* "The people

* Inscript. Ant. p. 27.

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have erected Menander, son of Ouliades, son of Euthydemus, a benefactor to his country, and descended from benefactors." The Turk, who lived in the cottage, readily permitted a ladder to be placed on the terrace for measuring the capital, which was done as expeditiously as possible, but not before we were informed, that several of the inhabitants murmured, because their houses were overlooked. Besides this, two fluted columns, of the Ionic order, remained not many years since.

Euthydemus, the ancestor of Menander, was contemporary with Augustus Cæsar. He was of an illustrious family, and possessed an ample patrimony. He was eloquent, and not only great in his own country, but respected as the first person of Asia Minor. His power was so advantageous to the city, that, if it savoured of tyranny, the odium was overcome by its utility. Hybreas concluded an oration, with telling him he was a necessary evil. This demagogue, who succeeded Euthydemus, had inherited only a mule and its driver, employed then, as many now are, in bringing wood from the mountains for sale!*

Beneath the hill, on the east side of the town, is an arch, or gate-way, of marble, of the Corinthian order. On the key-stone of the exterior front, which is eastward, we observed a double hatchet, as on the two marbles near Myûs. It was with difficulty we procured ladders to reach the top; and some were broken, before we could find three sufficiently long and strong for our purpose. The going up, when these were united, was not without danger. The aga had expressed some wonder at our employment, as described to

* Strabo, p. 659.

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him; and seeing one of my companions on the arch, from a window of his house, which was opposite, pronounced him, as we were told, a brave fellow, but without brains. We desired him to accept our umbrella, on his sending to purchase it for a present to a lady of his harám, who was going into the country. By the arch was a fountain, to which women came with earthen pitchers for water, and with their faces muffled.

We saw a broad marble pavement, with vestiges of a theatre, near the Corinthian column. Toward the centre of the town, we observed a small pool of water, and by it the massive arches of some public edifice. In the court of the aga's house was an altar much ornamented. We found an altar likewise in the streets, and a pedestal or two half buried, with pieces of ancient wall. Round the town are ranges of broken columns, the remnants of porticoes, now, with rubbish, bounding the vineyards. A large portion of the plain is covered with scattered fragments, and with piers of ordinary aqueducts; besides inscriptions, mostly ruined and illegible. Some altars, dedicated to Hecatomnus, have been discovered.

About a quarter of a mile from the town is a sepulchre,* of the species called by the ancients, *Distega* or *Double-roofed.* It consisted of two square rooms. In the lower, which has a door-way, were deposited the urns with the ashes of the deceased. In the upper the relations and friends solemnized the anniversary of the funeral, and performed stated rites. A hole made through the floor was designed for pouring libations of honey, milk, or wine, with which it was usual to gratify the manes or spirits. The roof is remarkable for its

* See a similar edifice in Mountfaucon, t. 5. Tab. 27.

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construction, but two stones are wanting, and some distorted. It is supported by pillars of the Corinthian order, fluted, some of which have suffered from violence, being hewn near the bases, with a view to destroy the fabric for the iron and materials. The shafts are not circular, but elliptical ;† and in the angular columns square. The reason is, the sides, which are now open, were closed with marble pannels; and that form was necessary to give them a due projection. The inside has been painted blue. This structure is the first object, as you approach from Iasus, and stands by the road. The entrance was on the farther side, the ascent to it probably by a pair of steps, occasionally applied and removed.

Going down from this building, and turning from Mylasa, westward, you have the mountain on the right hand; and come, in about an hour, to another sepulchre. This is cut in the rock, high up in the side, near the top, and very difficult of access. Within the door-way on each side is a seat or bench; on which, it is likely, the urns were placed; and beyond is a smaller camera, or arched room. Over the entrance, without, is carved in basso relievo a facade; two Tuscan pillars between two pilasters, with an entablature and pediment, and a door. The slope of the mountain has been covered with innumerable sepulchres. In this, the Swiss, as he told us, had persevered, digging for three nights, hoping to find some hidden treasure.

Jupiter, called by a local name Hosogo or Hogoas, had in the city a temple, in which was a well of sea-water. Jupiter, styled Carius, had also a temple, which was common to the Carians, and Lydians, and Mysians, as the same people.

† See a column described as singular by Tournefort, p. 839. See Pococke, p. 56

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This was not in the town, but had once a village near it. On a steep abrupt rock, in sight from Mylasa, to the south, and distant an hour and three quarters, crossing the plain, is a ruined town called Paitshin, and a castle, which was repaired, as a strong hold against Soley Bey. Part of the wall of this fortress, in which were a few cannon, stands on a flight of marble steps, probably belonging once to the latter temple. Near it are many deserted mosques and buildings, and a ruined church still used by the Greeks. The site of the former temple might perhaps be discovered, if diligent inquiry were made in the town for its well.

The Mylasians were the proprietors of the famous Jupiter of Labranda. The gate-way, on which his symbol, a double-hatchet, is carved, was probably that leading to his temple, which was at a distance from the city. The god often occurs on medals, holding the hatchet. Hercules, it is related, killed the Amazon Hippolyte, and gave this, her weapon, to Omphale, queen of Lydia. From her it descended to the kings her successors, and was used as an ensign of royalty. Candaules delivered it, to be carried by one of his officers. Arselis, with auxiliaries from Mylasa, joining Gyges, when he revolted, slew Candules and the hatchet-bearer, and returned into Caria laden with spoils. He made a statue of Jupiter, and placed the hatchet in his hand.*

* Plutarch.

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CHAP. LVII.

To Eski-hissar—Remains of Stratonicea—Its history—Mount Taurus—Temples of Hecate and Jupiter—Inscriptions—Introduction of tobacco and coffee into Turkey—Answer to a query.

THE merchants preparing to leave Mylasa, and telling us, we should find ruins at Eski-hissar, where they should stop next, we agreed to accompany them to that place, distant six hours eastward. We crossed the plain, with a long train of mules carrying their goods and servants, and ascended a mountain of veined marble, when the track became very steep and rough, winding by vast precipices. The slopes were covered with large firs and pines, many scorched or fallen, and some then on fire; spreading a strong smell of turpentine. The conflagration, we have before mentioned, had extended far into the country, as driven on and directed by the wind. About mid-day we alighted to refresh, near a clear murmuring brook, shaded by pines and plane-trees. In the vales farther on were stalks of Turkey wheat, with camels feeding; and booths of the Turcomans. A shepherd, whom we met in a narrow pass, was armed and followed by two dogs, and these by his flock. We saw some of the Turcomans, the women with boots on, and one carrying a gun; and their children leading camels. After travelling an hour and a half, Mylasa bore north-west; and, on our return, we had the plain in view in about four hours.

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Eski-hissar, once Stratonicea, is a small village; the houses scattered among woody hills, environed by huge mountains; one of which, toward the south-west, has its summit as white as chalk. It is watered by a limpid and lively rill, with cascades. The site is strewed with marble fragments. Some shafts of columns are standing, single; and one with the capital on it. By a cottage we found two, with a pilaster, supporting an entablature, but enveloped in thick vines and trees. In the side of a hill is a theatre, with the seats remaining, and ruins of the proscenium or front, among which are pedestals of statues; one inscribed, and recording a citizen of great merit and magnificence.* Above it is a marble heap. The whole building is overgrown with moss, bushes, and trees. Without the village, on the opposite side, are broken arches, with pieces of massive wall, and marble coffins. One of these is very large, and double, or intended for two bodies. Several altars with inscriptions lie about,† once placed in the sepulchres. The inhabitants were very civil to us; and the Greeks, some of whom accompanied us, as inquisitive as ignorant.

Stratonicea was a colony of Macedonians, and named from Stratonice, the wife of Antiochus Soter. The Seleucidæ or kings had adorned it with sumptuous structures; and it was a free city under the Romans. Hadrian is said to have re-edified and named it Hadrianopolis; and the remnants of architecture in general savoured of this emperor and of Antoninus, whose name occurred on a piece of architrave, much more than of the purer era of the Selucidæ.

The mountains round about Stratonicea are branches of

* Inscript. Ant. p. 29. † Ibid, p. 28, 29, 30.

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Taurus, which, beginning in Caria and Lycia, and becoming exceedingly wide and lofty, extends eastward from the coast opposite Rhodes, to the extremities of India and Scythia, dividing the continent of Asia into two parts. The same mountain spreads in Caria to the river Mæander. Besides the city above mentioned a small town is on record, called *Stratonicea by Taurus.*

The Stratonicéans had two temples in their territory; one of Hecate, at Lagina, in the way to Ephesus from Physcus, very famous, and visited by multitudes of people at the yearly congresses; the other of Jupiter, styled Chrysaóreus, or *with the golden sword,* which was near the city, and common to all the Carians; who, as well as the Ionians, met at stated times to sacrifice, and to deliberate on their affairs. This assembly was named the Chrysaórean system or body, and was composed of villages; the greater number giving the cities, to which they belonged, precedence in voting. The Stratoniceans, when the sanctuaries were reformed under Tiberius Cæsar, produced before the Roman senate, by their deputies, the decrees of Julius and Augustus Cæsar, confirming to Jupiter and Hecate their privilege of aslyum.

We found Jupiter Chrysaóreus mentioned twice on one stone; and in the wall of a spacious court, before the house of the aga, was an inscription* relating to both deities. The preamble declares, that the city in many great and lasting dangers had been preserved by these its tutelar gods; that their statues in the Senate-house furnished the most glaring evidence of their divine power, and of their presence; that crowds sacrificed and burned incense before them, suppli-

* See Chissull. *Antiquitates Asiaticæ,* p. 155.

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cating or returning thanks, and testifying their religious veneration of them; the senate therefore decrees, that thirty boys, of good families, be chosen to go daily two and two in procession, with their governors, to the senate-house, all dressed in white, crowned with olive, and bearing each a branch in their hands, with the citharist and herald, to sing a hymn, to be composed by Sosander. The stone is in two pieces, the characters large, with ligatures intermixed, and of a late age. In the same wall were other inscribed fragments;* and near it an altar, and many marbles embossed with round shields. This aga was polite and affable beyond any Turk we had seen. His harám was impenetrable, or, as we were told, would have afforded us several inscriptions.

We have mentioned the tobacco-plant, as growing in the plain of Mylasa. Here the leaves were now gathered, and hanging in strings against the walls of the cottages to dry. The use of it and of coffee has been prohibited under some sultans. The smoking it, now so universal, was in 1610 a novel practice even at Constantinople;† where a Turk had been recently led about the streets in derision, with a pipe thrust through his nose, as a punishment to deter others from following his example. The Turks were then strangers to the plant, and content to purchase the refuse of the English market, not understanding the commodity. The knowledge of coffee and of its virtues was imported from Arabia; and by the Turkish account,‡ the first coffee-house was established at Constantinople in 1554.

From the traveller, who has remarked the inexperience of

* Inscript, Ant. p. 28. † Sandys, p. 51.
‡ Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, t. 23. p. 284.

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the Turks in the American weed, we learn, that the English were then unacquainted with the oriental berry. He describes the Turks as sitting in houses resembling taverns, sipping a drink called coffa, in little china dishes, as hot as they could endure, black as soot, and tasting not much unlike it. To this description of coffee he subjoins, "Why not the black broth of the Lacedæmonians?" a question, I believe, hitherto unanswered I shall reply to it, that for making their black broth, the cook was furnished with salt and vinegar, and bid to procure what was wanting from a victim.* This, it has been conjectured, was blood. The epicure will not lament, that the entire recipe has not reached us.

CHAP. LVIII.

Form Mylasa to Iasus—To Mendelet—A temple—An ancient town—Of Labranda and the temple of Jupiter—Inscriptions —The mountain—We re-enter Ionia.

THE month of October was now ending. The nights, to which our men were often exposed, without any cover, grew cold; and our janizary was ill. We found it necessary to hasten to our winter quarters. We engaged the Swiss, whom we met at Mylasa on our return to the khan, in our service; pleased with his activity and intrepidity. The purchase of a horse to carry him was managed by our Turk, who, with the seller opposite, sate on the ground cross-legged, and told down some pieces of gold, and after a pause added to them,

* Plutarch.

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and so continued, until the price was accepted. We passed the first night, leaving Mylasa, in the sepulchre at Iasus.

On the way from Iasus to Mendelet, which is distant four hours, and three from Mylasa, we left the level green, with the booths of the Turcomans mentioned before, on our right hand; and, riding northward, through stubble of Turkey wheat, came in an hour to a beautiful and extensive plain covered with vines, olive and fig-trees, and flocks and herds feeding; and skirted by mountains with villages. We crossed it by a winding road, with the country-house of the aga of Mylasa on the right hand; and, passing a village called Iakli, unexpectedly discovered the solemn ruin of a temple; but, as it was dusk, we continued our journey to Mendelet, which was an hour farther on. The merchants, our late companions, had given us a letter to some Armenians, who kindly admitted us to partake in their apartment in the khan, which was full.

We returned in the morning to the temple, which was of the Corinthian order; sixteen columns, with part of their entablature standing; the cell and roof demolished. It is in a nook or recess; the front, which is toward the east, close by the mountain foot; the back and one side overlooking the plain. The style of the architecture is noble, and made us regret, that some members, and in particular the angle of the cornice, were wanting. Its marbles have been melted away, as it were piece-meal, in the furnaces for making lime, which are still in use, by the ruin.

A town has ranged with the temple on the north. The wall, beginning near it, makes a circuit on the hill, and descends on the side toward Mendelet. The thickets, which have over-run the site, are almost impenetrable, and prevented

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my pursuing it to the top, but the lower portion may easily be traced. It had square towers at intervals, and was of a similar construction with the wall at Ephesus. Within it, is a theatre cut in the rock, with some seats remaining. In the vineyards beneath are broken columns and marble fragments, and in one, behind the temple, two large massive marble coffins, carved with festoons and heads; the lids on, and a hole made by force in their sides. They are raised on pediments; and, as you approach, appear like two piers of a gate-way. Beyond the temple are also some ruins of sepulchres. I was much disappointed in finding no inscriptions to inform us of the name of this deserted place; which from its position on a mountain by the way-side, and its distance from Mylasa, I am inclined to believe was Labranda.

Labranda, according to Strabo, was a village, seated on a mountain, in the road from Alabanda to Mylasa. The temple was ancient, and the image of wood. This was styled *The Military Jupiter*, and was worshipped by the people all around. The way was paved near sixty-eight stadia, or eight miles and a half, as far as Mylasa, and called *Sacred* from the victims and processions, which passed on it. The priesthood was conferred on the most illustrious of the citizens, and was an office held for life. Ælian* has added two stadia, or a quarter of a mile, to the distance of the temple from the city, and relates, that in it was a clear fountain with tame fish, which wore golden necklaces and ear rings.

The ruin of this temple coincides with the description of it given by the geographer. The fabric tottering with age was, it seems, after his time gradually renewed, and chiefly

* De Nat. Animal. l. xii. c. 30.

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by the contributions of the Stephanephori, or high priests. For on seven columns is an inscription,* which may be thus translated, " Leo Quintus, son of Leo, when Stephanephorus, gave this column, as he had promised, with the base and capital." And the following inscription is repeated on five or more of the columns, with some variation as to the length of the lines, and the ligatures of the letters : " Menecrates, son of Menecrates, chief physician of the city, when Stephanephorus, gave this column, with the base and capital; Tryphæna, his daughter, herself likewise Stephanephorus and Gymnasiarch, having provided it." From the form of certain characters in the latter inscriptions, it may be inferred, that Leo was the earlier benefactor.

We were visited here every evening by a flock of goats and their keeper. I ascended the acclivity of the mountain by the temple, and from the summit had an extensive view of the plain toward Mylasa. It was green with the cotton-plant and with vines. I would have tarried to enjoy this prospect, which was delightful, but was much annoyed with thick smoke; a fire, either accidental, or designed to consume the herbage, spreading along the side of the mountain, crackling, and seeming to threaten, unless I hastened away, to intercept my retreat.

When the Carians and Ionians revolted from Darius, they retired after a defeat near the river Marsyas to Labranda, to the large and holy grove of plane-trees, where they were joined by other troops, and by the Milesians. The distance between Mendelet and Miletus is reckoned nine hours. On the way thither we discovered Myús, as has been related.

* Inscript. Ant. p. 19.

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Our course from Mendelet was twenty-five minutes north of west, with the summits of Titanus in view before us. We alighted after two hours, it being dusk, at Tarismanlá, a village near the end of the plain, and waited beneath some trees, until our men could procure us a place to lodge in, when a sudden gust of wind carried away one of our hats into a deep well. In the morning we ascended the mountain by a winding track shadedwith pines, myrtle, and fragrant shrubs. We enjoyed on it a fine view of the plain, which we then left in our rear. The road was rough and narrow to Bafí, where we arrived in an hour. Beyond it we passed an old castle on a hill, and soon after had the lake with Ufa Bafí or Myûs in sight. The reader may recollect that we found near this city marbles, which mention Jupiter of Labranda. Our journey from thence to Miletus has been already related.

CHAP. LIX.

We leave Myûs—The mountain by Mendelet—Sources of a river—At Carpuselí—Sepulchres and a stadium—Other remains—Alabanda—The river Harpasus—The Mæander.

The merchants, to whom we were recommended at Mendelet, informed us that Carpuselí was a place which afforded many antiquities. In our second tour we agreed to go thither from Myûs. We set out on the 18th of April in the evening, and, after riding an hour and a half by the head of the lake, pitched our tent for the night under a spreading tree by a stream. Here we were serenaded in a disagreeable man-

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ner; frogs croaking, as it were, in chorus; owls hooting; jackalls in troops howling; and the village-dogs barking.

In the morning we again entered the plain mentioned in the preceding chapter; and, crossing it near the end, came to the foot of the mountain, and began ascending with Mendelet on our right hand; the track, as may be conjectured, that which once led from Alabanda toward Miletus, and by Labranda to Mylasa. It winded northward by a small river with fish, the water forming cascades, and turning an overshot mill or two in its way down to the lake. On the sides are furnaces for working iron. Near the top we found a Turk sitting on the ground, while his horse was feeding, by a spring, under a tree.

In descending on the opposite side of the mountain, we passed some Turkish graves, which had each a bough of myrtle stuck at the head and feet. Beyond these were the sources of a river, probably that once called Harpasus, pellucid, and many in number. We pitched our tent below them on a brow by a Turkish village, after a continued and very laborious ride of ten hours.

We were on horseback again between six and seven in the morning, and travelled first eastward, and then south-eastward; the road good, the slopes covered with pines. The springs, which we saw the day before, had now united into a rapid transparent stream, abounding in fish. Our course lying to the south-east, we crossed it, and on the way met a Turk, a person of distinction, as appeared from his turban. He was on horseback, with a single attendant. Our janizary and Armenians respectfully alighted, and made him a profound obeisance, the former kissing the rim of his garment. He asked some questions, and went on. We arrived

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about noon at Carpuseli, a village twelve hours north of Mylasa.

As we approached this place, many ancient graves occurred, cut on rock as at Myûs, and reaching over a tract of considerable extent; with some coffins, mostly plain, or without mouldings, of a brown coarse stone, and with holes broke in the sides. We rode by these, and through a ruined stadium, now a bazar, or market, the way lying between the shops, which formed a street. We pitched our tent further on, near the square basement of a large sepulchre, of handsome solid masonry, and inhabited; standing not far from one side of the city wall, which may be traced, except toward the plain, and was of the masonry termed *Pseudisodomum*. Some Turks came to us here, and one desired wine. He took his turban from his head, kissed, and laid it aside; and, after drinking, replaced it with the same ceremony.

We ascended the mountain by a way paved, but rough and slippery. The remains, which we had seen from below, were a terrace wall, with a square area, and vestiges of a colonnade. Many pedestals are standing, of a coarse, brown, ragged stone. Beyond these, in the rock, is a theatre, with remnants of the front; a cistern, a square tower, and the city wall inclosing a summit; near which is another, with seven deep oval cisterns in a row, lined with plaster. At a distance behind them are four piers of a broken aqueduct. A pond or two carefully embanked, at the mountain foot, are the present reservoirs. The plain is encompassed with hills, is pleasant, and has a stream running in it toward the Harpasus.

I was here again disappointed in finding no inscription to inform us of the ancient name of the place; but suppose it to have been Alabanda That city is described as situated be-

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neath the summits of a mountain. The founder Alabandus was worshipped there with greater devotion than any of the noble deities. The people were luxurious and gluttonous, and the city was full of female minstrels. It was much infested with scorpions, as were in general the places lying on the range of mountains between it and Mylasa. The ridge of Alabanda had been likened to an ass with a pack-saddle; and a wag added, carrying a load of these insects. Pococke relates, that at Mendelet some persons die, every summer, by their sting.

Leaving Carpuseli at six in the morning, and going north-eastward, in about an hour and a half we forded the Harpasus, the bed now wide, crooked, and sandy. Our course changing a little to the east, we crossed it several times, and passed by some villages. At ten we proceeded northward, on its bank, in a valley. We were surrounded with the delightful trilling of innumerable nightingales; and the fish were visible in the crystal stream. This river is described by the shepherd-poet of Smyrna as impetuous after rain, roaring whole days at its junction with the Mæander.* A town, called from it, Harpasia, is mentioned by Pliny; now, if I mistake not, Arpas-kalesi, a ruined place, walled, on a hill above a small plain between the mountains, about a mile south of the Mæander, directly opposite to Nosli.†

We passed several villages, and leaving the clear Harpasus behind us, came at one to the turbid Mæander, then deep in its bed; a side of the bank torn away by the violence of the current. We were two minutes in ferrying over in a triangular boat, the rope of vine-stocks hanging down lax in the

* Q. Smyrnæus, *i.* v. 144. † Pococke.

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water. The stream below made an elbow. An ordinary causey, across some low morassy ground, succeeded, with groves of tamarisk, and a wide road, on which we met many people. The ferry is distant about an hour from Guzel-hissar, once called Magnesia *by the Mæander.*

CHAP. LX.

Pococke's journey to Carpuseli—To Mylasa—To Eski-hissar, or Stratonicea, and places adjacent—To Arabi-hissar, or Alinda.

We shall give here an abstract of Pococke's journey into Caria, from Guzel-hissar.* He passed the Mæander at the ferry, when the bed was full; the stream rapid, and a furlong broad. He describes the vine-boughs, of which the rope consisted, as about an inch and a half in diameter, and from ten to fifteen feet long. Three men pulled the boat over, a post fixed in it resting against the rope. The mouth of the Harpasus, which he calls the China, is, as he relates, about a mile below the ferry. The river has a wooden bridge, about eight miles further eastward, built on nine or ten large stone piers, and about three hundred feet long. He crossed there, and went on a league to Salashar, where he lodged in a miserable khan. The next day the road lay between little green hills, for about a league and a half, when he came into the small fertile plain of Carpuseli, and to the ruined city on the south of it; which, he observes, exactly answers to the situation of Alabanda.

* P. 57.

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From the south-east corner of this plain, Pococke ascended southwards, about three miles, to the top of the mountain, where is a plain about a league broad. He calls the range Mount Latmus, and was told, it was frequented by wolves, wild boars, and jackalls; and also by bears and tigers. Many herdsmen dwell on it; and, in some places, it was ploughed up, and the fields inclosed, with large trees laid around the edges. A low, easy descent, led into the vale of Mylasa, which he computes about four leagues long, and one broad.

He set out from Mylasa on the 20th of February for Eski-hissar or Stratonicea, distant about twelve miles, and crossed the mountains to the north-east. He describes that place as between hills, on a level spot opening to a large plain, in which the river China runs. He descended from thence, and going a league to the north, and then about two to the west, ascended near a league to a village called Lakena; about a mile from which is a ruined castle, strongly situated. The next morning, he went about two leagues north to the river Paieslu, which runs into the China; and then crossing the hills to the west, for the space of three leagues, came to one of the villages called Akshouieh; and going on a league to the west, between low rocky hills, and by the side of a rivulet with a bridge, which he passed over, saw a remnant of an old aqueduct; and, entering a fine plain, travelled across it two miles northward to the village of China, which is situated at the east end, to the south of the river of that name. He went up the hill, of which the top had been fortified, and saw there two or three sepulchral grots, and a cistern cased with brick, above ground, consisting of two oblong square compartments. The village Lakena seems

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the ancient Lagina, where Hecate had her temple. The castle near it, and that by China, are probably the two in the territory of Stratonicea, once called Tendeba and Astragon.

Crossing over to the south side of the plain from China, he came to Arabi-hissar, where are considerable ruins of an ancient city, which he describes, and supposes to have been, Alinda. From hence he went about a league south-west in the plain, crossed some low hills, and returned to Guzel-hissar, after re-passing the bridge over the China. The river, says Pococke, rises in the south-east part of Caria, beyond Aphrodisias: and, running through the valley, which is near Stratonicea and Lagina, turns to the north a little before it falls into the Mæander. The chain of mountains between the two rivers afford fine herbage for sheep and black cattle, in which the country abounds. The reader will observe, that he has given a much longer course to the China than that assigned by us to the Harpasus. He was ignorant of the transparent springs, which we discovered, and which plainly appeared the sources of this or the principal stream.

CHAP. LXI.

Of Guzel-hissar—Intelligence of the plague—The basha—Fright of our janizary—Magnesia—The river Lethæus—The remains—Of Hylæ—Distance from Ephesus and Tralles.

GUZEL-HISSAR, *the beautiful Castle*, is a large and very populous town; the houses mean, with trees, lofty domes, and minarets of mosques interspersed; a high hill, anciently

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called Thorax, towering behind. It is the place of residence of a basha. The air, in the hot months, is so bad as to be almost pestilential. We met many passengers on the road; and the burying-grounds were strewed with broken columns and remnants of marble. At entering the town, we were surprised to see around us innumerable tame turtle-doves, sitting on the branches of trees, on the walls, and roofs of houses, cooing unceasingly. We were conducted to a miserable khan, close, and crowded with people.

We had here alarming intelligence of the plague at Smyrna, the daily havoc it made, and the rapidity with which the fierce contagion was then propagated; threatening to overspread the whole country before the end of the summer. It was impossible a great thoroughfare, situated like Guzelhissar, if free, could continue long without infection. We had room to be apprehensive of the malady, and to be impatient to leave so suspicious a place, where we were pent up in a small chamber and gallery, among doves and travellers, chiefly Turks; devoured by myriads of insects; and suffering alike from extreme heat and from chagrin, not daring to go out of the gate before we had permission from the basha.

This important officer lived in a despicable house on the hill; his harám, which is more showy, standing separate, and both surrounded by an ordinary wall. Eight agas, each with a retinue of an hundred men, were then in the town, waiting his commands. We had a recommendatory letter to his mohurdar or treasurer, which was delivered, with a present of a handsome snuff-box, by the janizary, and graciously received. He promised to mention us to the basha, but his engagements were so many, it was not easy to find an op-

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portunity; and in the mean time we were confined to our khan.

Our unwieldy janizary had several tiresome journies on this business up to the castle. On the second afternoon he returned with the welcome news, that we were at liberty. The Mohurdar had requested for us letters to the agas farther eastward, but was denied; the basha being then at enmity, and, before we left Asia Minor, at open war with some leading men in that part of the country. The janizary was pale and quivering as with fear. He refused even coffee, and lay down to sleep, with strong symptoms of violent perturbation. He had been engaged, as he afterwards related, in an insurrection of the janizaries in the island of Candia, to depose the governor, who, for some offence, had seized on six of their brethren; and, when he was admitted into the presence of the basha, a privilege, which the janizaries claim, to kiss his hand or garment, he immediately knew him to be that person; but fortunately was not in turn recognized. This unexpected rencounter had confounded poor Mustapha to such a degree, that he came back almost doubting whether his head was still on his shoulders.

Magnesia was peopled by a colony of Æolians from Thessaly. The city was in the plain by Thorax, at no great distance from the Mæander, but much nearer to the Lethæus, which rose in the Ephesian mountain Pactyas, and fell into that river. Its principal ornament was a temple of Diana, called Leucophryene or the *White-browed*, which had the privilege of an asylum or sanctuary, and was larger than any in Asia, except the two at Ephesus and at Branchidæ. It excelled the former in elegance, and in the fitting up of the cell, but was inferior in the number of offerings. It was a

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pseudodipteros, and had eight columns in front, and fifteen on the sides, counting the angular columns. The order was Ionic; and the architect the celebrated Hermogenes, who invented that species. He was a native of Alabanda; and a treatise on the fabric was once extant, written by him. A favourite Citharist was painted in the market-place, clothed with the sacred purple of Jupiter Sosipolis, or *the Saviour of the city*; and had also a brass statue in the theatre. Some hillocks, which we passed in our way from the ferry, were once the islets called Derasidæ and Sophonia, mentioned by Pliny as taken by nature from Magnesia. The town, which, when this happened, was not very remote from the sea, had, in a more early period, been maritime. The shore has since been gradually removed still farther off.

The river Lethæus divides the present town, which has a lofty, but ordinary, bridge over the course. It descends through a narrow and deep-worn vale, on the east-side of the castle, with a mountain behind it of light brown earth, being a portion of Messogis. The stream, which in winter is a deep torrent, was now shallow. It received many brooks and rills on the sides, and was clear and rapid. Water bubbled up in several places in the bed, which was wide and partly dry. One of these springs is noted as remarkably cold and copious; and, as our guide told us, is highly esteemed and much drunk of by the Turks, and other inhabitants, during the hot months.

Magnesia was given to Themistocles to supply bread for his table. The goddess Ceres, standing in a car drawn by winged serpents, and bearing in each hand a lighted torch, is seen on the reverse of a medallion of the emperor Antoninus,*

* See Museum C. Albani v. 1. pl. 26.

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struck by this city; and in one of the streets we found a square capital, which, it is likely, belonged to her temple. The device on it was a poppy between two wheat-ears and two torches. We saw also many fragments of architecture of the Corinthian and Ionic orders. After viewing the town, we ascended to the castle, and were conducted to an eminence, about a quarter of an hour beyond it, where is a ruin which resembles the arcade at Troas; consisting of a piece or two of wall standing, and three massive arches; each painted with a garland in the centre, and two on the sides, encircling an inscription, of which some letters, with ends of fillets, are visible. The fabric has been repaired or re-edified, and some inscribed marbles are inserted in it, but too high to be legible. A Turk had purchased the materials, but the arcade is too solid a building to be easily and suddenly demolished. We enjoyed from it a delightful prospect of the plain, and of the Mæander. We discovered no stadium or theatre. The vestiges, if any remain, were concealed in the town by the buildings; or, without it, by stone-fences, olive-trees, and high corn.

In the territory of this city was a place called Hylæ, with a cave sacred to Apollo. This was of no extraordinary size, but the image of the god was one of the most ancient. It was believed, that he furnished ability for every undertaking. His servants leaped down the steep rocks and precipices; or, felling tall trees, walked on them, with burthens, over the narrow passes of the mountain. The cave perhaps remains. I could get no intelligence of it or of Hylæ; but Picenini relates, that in the way to the house and garden of the basha on the hill, they were shewn a cave near the walls

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of the ancient city, which, they were told, extended underground as far as they could go in two days.

The great road to the East from Ephesus was through Magnesia, Tralles, Nysa, and Antiochia. Magnesia, according to Strabo and Pliny, was only fifteen miles from Ephesus, but Picenini makes it eleven hours from Aiasalúck. He set out with his companions before five in the evening, going southward, and came to the vale, in which is the ancient bridge. They passed then over hills and through valleys. The next day they travelled in a pleasant plain, very extensive on their right hand, with the high tops of a mountain on their left, and arrived at Magnesia. The mountain was Messogis, and the plain that of the Mæander, but they seem not to have taken the direct road. The distance of Magnesia from Tralles was about eighteen miles. The way to it was in the plain of the Mæander. This was also on the right hand, and Messogis on the left; which arrangement was continued as far as Nysa and Antiochia.

CHAP. LXII.

Of Tralles and Nysa—Characa—Tralles restored by Augustus Cæsar—Destroyed by the Turks—Rebuilt—Of Brula, Mastaura and Armata.

Tralles and Nysa were situated alike with respect to the plain, being both above it to the north. Tralles was seated on a flat, the eminence terminating in an abrupt point, and inaccessible all around. The greater part of Nysa reclined on the mountain, which was Messogis; and the city

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was divided, as it were, into two, by a torrent, which had formed a deep bed. One portion of the course had a bridge over it, to connect the sides; and another was adorned with an amphitheatre, under which a passage was left for the waters. Below the theatre were two precipices; and on one of them was a gymnasium; on the other, the agora, or market place, and the senate house.

In the way, between Tralles and Nysa, was a village of Nyséans, not far from the city, Characa or Acharaca; and a Plutonium or temple of Pluto and Prosperine, with a beautiful grove above it, and a charonium, or cave, of a wonderful nature. Thither sick people resorted, and the deities were their physicians, suggesting, as was believed, efficacious remedies in dreams, most commonly to the priests, who were expert in managing their patients, and would often lead them into the cave. They sometimes remained in it, as in a pit, several days fasting; but persons not guided by them perished in it. A general assembly was celebrated there yearly, when, toward noon, the youth of the gymnasium, with the boys, all naked and anointed, drove a bull with shoutings to the mouth of the cave, where he was let loose, and on entering fell down dead.

The geographer, Strabo, who studied rhetoric and grammar at Nysa, mentions Tralles as inhabited, if any of the Asian cities, by wealthy persons; some of whom were always Asiarchæ, or prefects of the province under the Romans. Among its eminent men, his contemporaries, was Pythodorus, a native of Nysa, and friend of Pompey. But Tralles, though an opulent and thriving place, seems then to have contained nothing very remarkable. A prodigy is recorded to have happened there in the civil war. A palm-

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tree was seen springing from between the stones of the pavement in the temple of Victory, in which a statue of Cæsar had been erected. An earthquake happening, the edifices which suffered were rebuilt by Augustus. A writer,* who lived in the sixth century relates, that a husbandman named Chæremon, in a transport of affliction and zeal for his country, hastened to the emperor, who was then in Cantabria, and by his entreaties prevailed on him to restore the city, which, he observes, had retained its form unaltered from that period. He found in a field near Tralles a pedestal, which had supported a statue of this person, and copied from it the inscription, which he has preserved. It is in the Doric dialect, which was spoken there, and introduced by the Argives, who, with some Thracians, founded Tralles.

The Turks in 1175 making an irruption into the Roman empire on this side, and laying it waste, Tralles and Antiochia capitulated. In 1266 they seized many towns and monasteries; but Tralles, with other advanced places, was secured by the Roman general. In the following year the Turks extended their frontier to the river Sangarius. Micheal Paleologus was then emperor. The garrisons by the Mæander, in Caria, Antiochia and the interior region, were exceedingly weak; and the fortresses by the Cayster, with Priene and Miletus, taken.

Andronicus, son of Paleologus, and his associate in the empire, arriving with succours in 1280, was charmed with the situation of Tralles, and resolved to rebuild the city, and replace in it the families, which had been driven out. He intended calling it Paleologopolis or Andronicopolis; and it

Agathias.

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is related, that on a marble dug up by the workmen an oracle was found incribed, foretelling the restoration of Tralles, and promising long life to its new founder. When the walls were raised, it became one of the most considerable places by the Mæander; people, it is likely, flocking to it as a strong-hold. It had thirty-five thousand inhabitants; but was destitute both of reservoirs to receive rain, and of wells, which it seemed impossible to dig sufficiently deep. An army of Turks suddenly appeared, and intercepted the supply of water from the river. The citizens, persevering in their defence, they entered by storm, and put them all to the sword; Andronicus not moving from Nymphéum near Smyrna. The Turks had before subdued Nysa.*

On the same side of the Mæander, were two other places worth mentioning, Briula and Mastaura, the former of which, on the establishment of Christianity, was made the seat of a bishop; and in the mountain, above Nysa, was Aromata, or, as the name seems to have been pronounced, Armata, noted for its wine, which excelled any other produced on Messogis. A village named Iack-cui, six miles eastward, is supposed by Pococke to have been Briula; and one, at an entrance in between the hills is, as he relates, still called Mastauro. He also mentions some walls on a very high summit over Nysa, which, he conjectures, may be remains of Aromata; but that perhaps was the name only of a district planted with vines.

* Pechemyrus, p. 320.

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CHAP. LXIII.

We arrive at Sultan-hissar—Of Eski-hissar—The supposed site of Tralles—Nysa—Approach to Tralles and Nysa—The remains of Tralles—Origin of Sultan-hissar—Proximity of Tralles and Nysa—Continue our journey.

We set out from Magnesia on the 23d at noon, going eastward. By the road near the town were several wells in a row, with attic bases of columns perforated, and placed over the mouths. These we supposed remnants of the famous temple of Diana. The way was straight and wide in the plain; the soil light and sandy, like that of Messogis the mountain on our left hand. On each side of us were orchards of fig-trees sown with corn; and many nightingales were singing in the bushes. We passed some dry water-courses, and rivulets running down to the Mæander; which was once in view, the stream winding, with a ferry. It was dusk when we pitched our tent by Sultan-hissar, which is about five hours from Magnesia.

Sultan-hissar is an old fortress with houses in and by it; standing in the plain; the site corresponding neither with that of Tralles nor with Nysa. It has, however, some marble fragments, which have been removed from adjacent ruins; and on inquiry, we were informed that the eminence before us had on it some remains of old buildings; that the place was called Eski-hissar, and distant about half an hour. We now expected to find Tralles and Nysa there. It stands on a root of Mount Messogis, running out into the plain and

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ending abruptly; once, perhaps, what it now resembles, a lofty promontory encompassed with smooth water.

In the morning we crossed the plain to the foot of the eminence, which we ascended, going toward the body of Mount Messogis. The road up it was stony, and carried over a deep, but dry water-course, by an arch. Then followed broken vaults of sepulchres, and distinct remnants of buildings, all stripped of their marble; standing on a flat covered with corn, trees, fences, and walls. This immediately appeared to me to be the site of Tralles, which had a river or torrent near it called Eudon.

Leaving these ruins, the road, still on the eminence, carried us eastward, and then to the south. We passed by a few cottages, where I inquired for the Charonium, thinking we were at Chraca. We soon came to other vaults of sepulchres and ruins, plainly of Nysa; not on a flat. Here we found a large theatre in the mountain-side, with many rows of seats, almost entire, of blue-veined marble fronting westward. By the left wing is a wide and very deep water-course, the bed of the river once called Thebaites, making a vast gap into the plain, but concealed in the front of the theatre, where is a wide level area, with soil, supported by a bridge; beyond which, in the hollow, was the stadium, or, according to Strabo, the amphitheatre, with the seats resting on the two slopes. The bottom of this structure is destroyed, and only some masses of brickwork remain, with some marble fragments by the end next the theatre, where you have a view of the lofty and solid piers, with arches, sustaining the area. The eminence terminates on each side of the amphitheatre in a precipice. On one side is the ruin of the gymnasium, and on the other, of the senate-house; by which is the area.

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or vacant space of the market. The site of Nysa, as well as of Tralles, was covered with corn, and fences of piled stones. We had from it a delightful prospect of the plain and of the crooked Mæander. Our guide assured us we had now seen all the ruins near Sultan-hissar.

We have described Tralles and Nysa as having one approach from the plain, on the west side of the eminence, where the road dividing leads on the left to Tralles, and on the right to Nysa. This was the only avenue, which required to be defended; and the Turks, it is likely, stormed Trallas after undermining the wall there, or beneath the amphitheatre at Nysa.

The buildings at Tralles, as may be inferred from the remains, were originally composed mostly of stones or pebbles, with cement. Andronicus, as it were, destroyed the city, by rebuilding it. The houses were hastily finished, and old Tralles in good measure demolished by the new settlement; of which the vestiges extant, after five hundred years, are few, besides loose stones and rubbish.

In the year 1403 we find Tamerlane at Sultan-hissar: which fortress was probably erected by the Turks to cut off the communication with the river, or to prevent the Romans from settling again on the mountain.

The ruins on the eminence, though separate, are at a very small distance from each other in a straight line. The distance of Tralles from Magnesia in Strabo is one hundred and forty stadia, or seventeen miles and a half; in Pliny, eighteen miles. Neither of these authors has noted the distance of Nysa from Magnesia; probably because included in that of Tralles. They have also omitted the distance between Tralles and Nysa, as inconsiderable. If the materials and masses of

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buildings were removed from Tralles, its site would be no longer distinguishable; but at Nysa, the hill will always retain the concavity or figure of a theatre. Nysa is here ascertained by undubitable tokens; and its distance from Guzel-hissar or Magnesia is an argument for the proximity, which has been supposed between it and Tralles.*

We set forward again about noon, and riding through Sultan-hissar, came to Nosli-bazar or *The Market of Nosli*, the town called Nosli-Boiuc or *Great Nosli*, appearing with white minarets at a distance on our right hand toward the Mæander. This place is supposed to have been Antiochia. We pursued our journey eastward without stopping.

CHAP. LXIV.

Of Antiochia, Coscinia, and Orthosia—Picenini's route to Nosli—To Jeni-sheir—To Geyra—To Ipsili-hissar—To Laodicea—Remarks—Pococke's route to Jeni-sheir and Geyra—Roads, and distances of places.

ANTIOCHIA, though a great thoroughfare, was but a middling city. It had a bridge over the Mæander, and was liable to earthquakes. Its territory, which lay on each side of the river, was large and fruitful, and produced in plenty the figs, called Antiochene and Three-leafed, the same, it is likely, which are now, as formerly, dried; and which we purchased in these parts, strung like beads, and found extremely good, as well as cheap. In 1176 the town surrendered to the Turks; and in 1198 was in danger from the Sultan of Iconium,

* The Tralles of Smith and Wheler is the real Nysa. See also Pococke, p. 67.

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but escaped by an accident. In 1206 it was besieged by the Turkish army, and relieved by Lascaris, emperor of Nicea. This region had besides two places, beyond the Mæander, worthy of notice, Conscinia and Orthosia; the latter afterwards an episcopal see. A stream running from Coscinia toward Alabanda was remarkable for its windings.

Picenini and his companions left Gussel-hissar at five in the afternoon, and at nine came to a hut called Chiosek or Chiauskui. The next morning they set out at six, and at eight reached Sultan-hissar. Soon after they passed through a village called Homerkioi, in the way to the town of Nosli, where they arrived at eleven. They were pleased with the civility of the Turks, with the three mosques, the houses, and the neatness of the streets.

From Nosli these travellers went eastward through the plain; and, after about four hours, stopped on the banks of the Mæander, which river they crossed the next morning, and then in an hour saw an old castle called Jeni-sheir upon a hill, with arched caves or vaults at the foot. They ascended to it, having passed a rivulet named Gengere, and found besides thick walls, built with small stones, a few fragments of columns. From these ruins, returning eastward, they had a fine view of the Mæander in the plain below, and found there a lion carved in white marble, the head and hind parts missing, the back inscribed with the word ΟΔΟC, *The way*, which shews it was designed as an index for passengers.

Leaving the Mæander behind, they went on, more to the south in a vale almost uncultivated; and at noon halted by some mills near the source of the rivulet which they had repassed; and arrived, after two hours more, at Geyra, distant twenty hours from Guzel-hissar. There they met with many

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ruins and inscriptions; and of the latter copied near a hundred.

From Geyra, going eastward and sometimes northwardly, among hills, they came to a lofty mountain, which they ascended by a rough track amid thickets and pines. Narrow valleys succeeded, and after four short hours they reached Ipsili-hissar, a castle on a pointed hill within the mountain, and two hours, as they were told, from the Mæander. They found there about fifty Turkish cottages and a mosque, by which were three inscriptions, with a few other remains.

Their road lay again through narrow valleys. After two hours they thrice passed a rivulet, called Hagi-sic, remarkable for winding like the Mæander, into which it runs; and after three hours came to Gerelikioi, a pleasant village about a short hour from that river. Going four hours more, eastward, among pleasant hills and vales, they arrived at Laodicea.

It seems probable that Jeni-sheir was anciently Orthosia, and that the vaults or arches are remains of sepulchres; and also, that Ipsili-hissar was Coscinia, and the winding rivulet, that is mentioned as running toward Alabanda. The inscriptions, which they copied, proved Geyra to have been Aphrodisias, a place ranked by Strabo among the smaller towns, lying round about Laodicea and Apamea. Some of them have been published by Chissul; but many more, equally worthy the attention of the learned, are preserved in a manuscript, which was Lord Oxford's, now in the British Museum.

Pococke* reached Jeni-sheir by a different route; going

* P. 68.

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from Nosli about four miles south to the Mæander, where was a wooden bridge; and from thence to Arpas-kalesi; then turning south, and going to a village two leagues farther eastward, at the entrance of a narrow vale, which extends southward between the hills. He describes Jenisheir as to the east of this place, a hill stretching from east to west with ruins on it of the walls of a town, and with a great number of arches underground. It was there the Turkish army in 1739 subdued the famous rebel, Soley Bey Ogle, who was slain, with four thousand of his followers. He then entered the narrow vale, and going about eight miles to the south, left a town or large village on the west. This place, called Carajesu, was invincible to Soley Bey, the deep beds of torrents protecting it from assault. He then turned eastward, and going four miles in a plain, which he computes about two leagues long from east to west, and one broad, arrived at Geyra; from whence he returned to Nosli.

We shall conclude this chapter with an account of the ancient route through Caria and Ionia, as preserved, with the order of the places and their distances, by Strabo. On the way to Ephesus from Physcus, which was on the continent of Asia opposite to Rhodes, you came to Lagina, distant eight hundred and fifty stadia, or one hundred six miles and a quarter; then to Alabanda, two hundred and fifty stadia, or thirty one miles and a quarter; then to Tralles, one hundred and sixty stadia, or twenty miles. The Mæander was crossed about midway between Alabanda and Tralles, where were the boundaries of Caria; and the whole distance from Physcus to the river was eleven hundred and eighty stadia, or one hundred forty seven miles and a half. From

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the Mæander to Tralles the distance was eighty stadia, or ten miles; then to Magnesia one hundred and forty stadia, or seventeen miles and a half; then to Ephesus one hundred and twenty, or fifteen miles; to Smyrna three hundred and twenty, or forty miles; to Phocéa and the Ionian boundaries, less than two hundred, or twenty-five miles. Thus the extent of Ionia was a little more than eight hundred stadia,* or one hundred miles. The most common road to the East from Ephesus, as has been mentioned before, was by Antiochia, and from thence to Carura, seven hundred and forty stadia, or ninety-two miles and a half; and then through Laodicea† and Apamea, called Cibotos.

* Strabo gave also the extent of the coast of Ionia, with its windings; but the passage is imperfect, p. 632. It is much lessened, since his time, between Ephesus and Posidium.

† In Peutinger's table, the distance between Carura and Laodicea is xx miles; but the numbers can seldom be relied on.

Peutinger's, or the Theodosian table, is a most curious relique of antiquity. If the Antonine Itinerary, and the many distances of places and the different routes to be found scattered in various old authors, were carefully compared with it, most of the present difficulties would be removed; the true readings would be restored, the authority of the respective numbers would be ascertained, and ancient geography receive a considerable and very useful improvement. For an account of Peutinger's Table, see p. 115. *Acta Lipsiensia* for the year 1753.

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CHAP. LXV.

Our journey continued—The Asian meadow—We cross the Mæander—Carura—Ruin of a bridge—A hot spring.

THE road, which we took from Sultan-hissar, was that which anciently led to Carura and to Laodicea in Phrygia, without passing through Antiochia. We met on it many passengers, and mules, and long strings of camels. The ground was dry, the soil fine, and covered with corn, with fig and olive trees. Our course was a little north of east. After five hours we pitched our tent. A summit of the mountain, on the south-side of the Mæander, or of Taurus, which was opposite to us, had snow on it. On our left was a rising ground beneath the hilly range of Messogis, with a large village; and on the level in the front were many deep wells, each furnished with a tall pole supporting a long lever, from which hung a rope and a wooden bucket to raise water for the caravans.

Mount Messogis, beyond Nosli-bazar, becomes less wide and lofty than before, and is over-topped by Mount Tmolus. I observed a remarkable gap in the range of Messogis, opening a view into a green plain, at some distance on our left hand. I wished to explore this pleasant region; but our route was settled, and the sudden changing it might have been attended with inconveniencies, if not with danger. That was the place, if I mistake not, called Leimon, or *The Meadow*, which is described as lying above Mount Tmolus, and the southern parts of Messogis, thirty stadia, or three miles

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and three quarters from Nysa. The inhabitants of this city, and all around it, held there a general assembly. They said it was the Asian meadow of Homer; and shewed the monument of Asius, and also of Cayster, with the source of the river named from him; and not far off was the mouth of a cave sacred to Pluto and Proserpine, supposed to communicate with that at Characa. Besides these objects of inquiry, the traveller may, it is likely, discover a castle in this tract; for we read that the grand duke Roger, after defeating the Turks, condemned the governor of the fort of Asi on the Mæander for deserting it.

At seven in the morning we pursued our journey eastward, the mountains now projecting, and the plain getting narrower. At half after ten we pushed on to a coffee-shed by the road-side; a sudden gust of wind, from black clouds in the west, driving before it a thick dust, which was followed by a furious shower in our backs. The brooks swelled, and in the afternoon ran down with noise to the Mæander. We tarried near three hours; and then set out for a ferry, which we were told would save us an hour. We arrived at it in three hours and a half. The current was strong and muddy, the float old and heavy, but we crossed in a minute and a quarter.

We now approached the site of Carura, anciently a village with khans or inns for travellers; in one of which a large company, while revelling, had been swallowed up by an earthquake. It was remarkable for surges or eruptions of hot waters, in the river, or on its margin;* and was the boundary of Caria toward Phrygia.

* Strabo, p. 578. See Pausanias, p. 241.

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Riding along the bank of the river, we discovered the ruin of an ancient bridge. The remnant was on the farther side, and consists of half of the central arch, with one smaller arch entire. This bridge was probably broken before the year 1244; when an interview being agreed on between the emperor of Nice and the Turkish sultan, the latter passed the river, in his way to Tripolis, on a temporary bridge made of rafts for the occasion.

The existence of Carura, it is likely, was determined by the loss of the passage. We saw no traces of that place; but, going near the ruin, one of our horses turned short, which led us to observe a vein of hot water boiling up out of the ground, like a jetté, some inches perpendicular, and forming a small quagmire. We now enter Phrygia.

CHAP. LXVI.

Our journey continued—Temple of Men Carus—Denisli—The Turks uncivilized—Arrive at Laodicea—Our tent beset—Our janizary seized—Behaviour of an aga—Thieves—The weather.

CONTINUING our journey, we lost sight of the river; the plain widened again, and was cultivated, but not inclosed, as before. Messogis was now of a chalky aspect; and the mountain on our right green with trees. We saw a few scattered booths of Turcomans. At four our course inclined to east-south-east. We observed many jays, and upupas, and a beautiful bird, like a hawk, with blue glossy plumage. We had travelled eight hours and three quarters, when we pitched our tent by a village under a summit covered with snow.

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The following day our course was as before, the river not in view. The sun shone very comfortably, and the melted snow ran in dirty rills down the slopes. On the way some stones and vestiges of a building occurred; perhaps of a temple once between Carura and Laodicea, called that of Men Carus,* and held in high veneration. In Strabo's time a great school of physicians flourished there. The same author has mentioned a temple of Men Asæus or Arcuæs, also in Phrygia. The priesthood, which was dissolved, had possessed a multitude of consecrated servants and holy places. In Armenia was a temple of Men Pharnaces, of vast sanctity; the village resembling a city. The priest received the revenue arising from the sacred servants and territory. These, with another or two, noted by Strabo, were likewise temples of Selene. The deity worshipped in them was, it seems, that called by the Romans Lunus and Luna, or *the Moon.* We arrived at Denisli in four hours.

Denisli is fortified by an ordinary wall, which incloses a few cottages, and resembles Segigeck. The gateway, on our approach, was crowded with men and boys. Our janizary and Swiss tarried there to purchase provisions and other necessaries, while we dismounted in a meadow at a small distance, expecting their return. Our baggage-horses were scarcely unloaded, when both rejoined us; the Swiss complaining, that the Greeks understood only the Turkish language, in which he was not expert; the other to inform us, we were required by the owner of the ground to change our conác or *resting-place.* We removed to a tree, under which we dined, by a muddy stream, and were wetted by a smart shower.

* Strabo, p. 580. See p. 557. 577. 503.

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We had lately perceived an alteration in the carriage of the Turks; who, in the interior regions, seldom see strangers, and are full of ferocity. A general want of cordiality toward us had been apparent, and some trifling insults we had received on the road were forerunners of more inconvenient incivilities. Some Turks here told us, we had no danger to apprehend on this side of the plain; but if we proceeded to Pambouk on the farther side we must be cautious, for the Turcomans in that quarter were robbers and murderers.

We set out again for Eski-hissar or Laodicea, then distant an hour northward, the way between hills. A Turk, whose dress and mien bespoke him above the common rank, overtook us; and, our men inquiring, courteously directed them to a commodious situation for our tent, which we pitched in the evening in a small rising, on the edge of the plain, by the junction of two streams.

We were in general very much fatigued, and about sun-set lay down to rest; an Armenian or two watching our horses, which were staked and grazing by the tent. Some time after it was dark, we were suddenly surrounded by armed men, conducted by the Turk, who had recommended this spot. Their business was to demand *bac-shish* for their aga. They pryed into our baggage, prancing their long-tailed horses, and threatening, if they were not immediately gratified. We were too soundly asleep within the tent to be easily awakened. The Swiss, shaking the relater by the hand, informed him of the quality and importunity of these unwelcome visitants. He was bid to tell their chief, that the aga should be satisfied in the morning; and the janizary urging, that the hour was unseasonable, and that we purposed stay-

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ing, they were prevailed on to depart, taking him with them to pacify their master.

At the dawn of day a Turk was sent to obsèrve if we were stirring, and the janizary set out with our firhman, and a present of coffee, sugar, and money; but the aga declared, he would have at least an hundred and thirty piastres; and Mustapha, pleading our *firhman*, and presuming to remonstrate, was seized, disarmed, and thrown into prison. In the meantime we were very uneasy at the tent, presaging no good from his long stay. After some hours we saw him coming without his gun, pistol, or sabre; terrified and dejected. He exclaimed, we were among rebels and robbers; that the roads were beset to prevent our escape, and the aga, if we hesitated to comply with his demand, was determined to cut us in pieces, and take possession of our baggage.

The janizary described this aga as uncommonly fierce and haughty, and bade us apprehend the very worst consequences, from his intemperance and savage disposition. The impression made on him was communicated to our Armenians, and we all disliked our situation. After a short consultation, I gave him twenty zechins, affirming truly, that we had no money to spare, but might want even that sum before we reached Smyrna. He ventured back, with some reluctance, into the presence of the aga, who was prevailed on to receive it, but with difficulty; and then inquired about our firhman, which he before had refused to hear named. The janizary returned to him again with it, and, after it had been read, he refunded nine of the zechins; believing, as he was told, that we belonged to the English ambassador, and were going from Smyrna to Constantinople; and fearing we might complain

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there of his behaviour. He now said he would be responsible for our safety.

As soon as this business was adjusted, we began to examine the site of Laodicea, which was close by us. On the first day, we were attended by one of the aga's men, a mean, ill-looking fellow, who required a piaster, his pay, and in the evening left us. The janizary who, by that time, had slept away his fatigue and chagrin, went back with him to the village, about an hour distant, for his bridle, which had been exchanged for one of no value. We were visited at our tent, during our stay here, by several of the natives, and Turcomans, who manifested so savage and bad a disposition, that our men established a regular watch. They stole our pipes, and took even earthen bowls; a species of petty larceny, which exceedingly distressed some of our company.

The Mæander, running between the hill of Laodicea and Mount Messogis, divides the plain, which there becomes narrow. Our view eastward was terminated by mountains not very remote. The summits on the south and south-east were covered with snow. From the first quarter we had a very sharp piercing breeze at the dawn of day; and from the latter, as soon as the sun was risen. At noon the atmosphere was smoky, the sky hot and fiery: and then cloudy, with showers. It thundered in the north and north-west. We experienced, as it were, winter and summer in the space of twenty-four hours.

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CHAP. LXVII.

Of Laodicea—The amphitheatre—An inscription—A ruin—The odeum—Other remains, and two theatres—The hill—The rivers—Modern history of Laodicea.

The city Laodicea was named from Laodice, the wife of its founder Antiochus, the son of Stratonice.† It was long an inconsiderable place, but increased toward the age of Augustus Cæsar, after having suffered in a siege from Mithridates. The fertility of the soil, and the good fortune of some of its citizens, raised it to greatness. Hiero, who adorned it with many offerings, left the people his heir to more than two thousand talents. After that benefactor followed Zeno, the rhetorician; and his son Polemo, as renowned a sophist as ever lived. This person flourished at Smyrna: but was buried here, by the Syrian gate, near which were the sepulchres or coffins of his ancestors.‡ Laodicea, though inland, grew more potent than the cities on the coast, and became one of the largest towns in Phrygia. The other was Apamea Cibotos.

We had crossed the hill, on which Laodicea stood, coming from Denisli. On our approach to it, we had on either hand traces of buildings; and on our right, of a low duct, which has conveyed water. The first ruin was of an amphitheatre, in a hollow, the form oblong, the area about one

† Strabo, p 578. ‡ Philostratus, p. 543.

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thousand feet in extent, with many seats remaining. At the west end is a wide vaulted passage, designed for the horses and chariots; about one hundred and forty feet long. The entrance from without is choked up, except a small aperture, at which a glimmering light enters; and the soil has risen above the imposts of the interior arch. This has an inscription on the mouldings, in large characters, in Greek, which may be thus translated, " To the emperor Titus Cæsar Augustus Vespasian, seven times consul, son of the emperor the god Vespasian; and to the people. Nicostratus the younger son of Lycius, son of Nicostratus, dedicated . . . . . at his own expense; Nicostratus, ... his heir having completed what remained of the work, and Marcus Ulpius Trajanus the proconsul having consecrated it."* The seventh consulate of Vespasian falls on the seventy-ninth year of the Christian era, and the consulship of Trajan on the eighty-second. Twelve years were consumed in perfecting the structure.

By another ruin is a pedestal, with an inscription, which will illustrate that on the arch. It relates to the same family, and to the two benefactors. " The senate and people have honoured Tatia, daughter of Nicostratus, son of Pericles, a new heroine, both on account of the magistracies, and ministries, and public works of her father, and on account of her great uncle Nicostratus, who lately, besides his other benefactions, was priest of the city, and changed the stadium into an amphitheatre."† The city increasing, the stadium, it should seem, was not sufficiently capacious; but Nicostratus enlarged, or lengthened it, and converted it into an amphi-

* Inscript. Ant. p. 30. † Ib. p. 31.

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theatre, like that at Nysa. A structure of so vast a circumference, when filled with the Laodiceans sitting in rows, must itself have been a very glorious and striking spectacle.

On the north side of the amphitheatre, toward the east end, is the ruin of a most ample edifice. It consists of many piers and arches of stone, with pedestals and marble fragments. At the west end lies a large stone, with an inscription; the city or people "has erected Ased, a man of sanctity and piety, and recorder for life, on account of his services to his country." This fabric was perhaps the repository of the laws, and contained the senate-house, the money-exchange, and public offices. It has been remarked, that the waters of Laodicea, though drinkable, had a petrifying quality; and, at the east end of this ruin, is a mass of incrustation, formed by the current, which was conveyed to it in earthen pipes, by the duct before mentioned.

From this ruin you see the odéum, which fronted southward. The seats remain in the side of the hill. The materials of the front lie in a confused heap. The whole was of marble. Sculpture had been lavished on it, and the style savoured less of Grecian taste than Roman magnificence.

Beyond the odéum are some marble arches standing, with pieces of massive wall; the ruin, as we conjectured, of a gymnasium. This fabric, with one at a small distance, appeared to have been re-edified, probably after an earthquake, to which calamity Laodicea was remarkably subject. Westward from it are three marble arches crossing a dry valley, as a bridge. Many traces of the city-wall may be seen, with broken columns and pieces of marble used in its later repairs. Within, the whole surface is strewed with pedestals and fragments. The luxury of the citizens may be inferred

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from their other sumptuous buildings, and from two capacious theatres in the side of the hill, fronting northward and westward; each with its seats still rising in numerous rows one above another. The travellers in 1705 found a maimed statue at the entrance of the former, and on one of the seats the word ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ *of Zeno.*

The hill of Laodicea consists of dry, impalpable soil, porous, with many cavities, resembling the bore of a pipe; as may be seen on the sides, which are bare. It resounded beneath our horses feet. The stones are mostly masses of pebbles, or of gravel consolidated, and as light as pumice-stone. We had occasion to dig, and found the earth as hard as any cement. Beneath, on the north, are stone coffins, broken, subverted, or sunk in the ground.

The two streams, which united by our tent, were the Lycus and the Caprus. The Lycus flows from a mountain called Cadmus, above Laodicea, or to the east. It is seen in the plain, north of the hill, and was now shallow, and about two yards over. After its junction with the Caprus, on the north-west, it becomes a sizeable river. The Caprus* descends on the west, through a narrow valley, in which are four tall piers of a bridge once crossing it, and leading to a gate of the city. These rivers are represented on medals. The Asopus, which ran on the opposite side, was dry. Laodicea, with Colossæ, its neighbour, was enriched by sheep, which produced fleeces exceeding Milesian in softness, and the jetty raven in colour. The river Xanthus, or Scamander, was supposed the author

* Called Giumiskioi. The rivulet washing the eastern side of the hill, called Hosolous. The Lycus, which flows not far off in the plain beneath, called Diokbounar. *Picenini.*

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of the yellow hue observable in the Troad. This region was said to be indebted to the Lycus. The breed perhaps has been neglected. Some shepherds came with their flocks to the ruins, and in the evening to the water by our tent. I remarked only one or two, which were very black and glossy.

Laodicea was often damaged by earthquakes, and restored by its own opulence, or by the munificence of the Roman emperors. These resources failed, and the city, it is probable, became early a scene of ruin. About the year 1097 it was possessed by the Turks, and submitted to Ducas, general of the emperor Alexis. In 1120 the Turks sacked some of the cities of Phrygia, by the Mæander, but were defeated by the emperor John Comnenus, who took Laodicea, and built anew, or repaired the walls. About 1161 it was again unfortified. Many of the inhabitants were then killed, with their bishop, or carried with their cattle into captivity by the Turks. In 1190, the German emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, going by Laodicea with his army toward Syria on a crusade, was received so kindly, that he prayed on his knees for the prosperity of the people. About 1196, this region, with Caria, was dreadfully ravaged by the Turks. The sultan, on the invasion of the Tartars in 1255, gave Laodicea to the Romans; but they were unable to defend it, and it soon returned to the Turks. We saw no traces either of houses, churches, or mosques. All was silence and solitude. Several strings of camels passed eastward over the hill; but a fox, which we first discovered by his ears, peeping over a brow, was the only inhabitant of Laodicea.

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CHAP. LXVIII.

We set out for Pambouk, or Hierapolis—Stopped—Behaviour of an aga—The cliff, &c.—Quality of the soil about the Mæander—Hot waters of Hierapolis—Another cliff—Poetical account of the cliff.

A PORTION of Messogis, opposite to Laodicea, appears as a white lofty cliff. We supposed it to be chalk. Pambouk, or the ruined city Hierapolis,* which we could see, is seated upon it, beneath the summits of the mountain. The distance was one hour and a half, north-north-eastward. The aga, with whom we had lately been embroiled, told the janizary, that he commanded at Pambouk, the aga of the district being absent, and that we had nothing to fear there, as we were under his protection. We relied on his assurances, and left Laodicea, on the 30th of April, in the afternoon; crossing the plain toward Pambouk.

We passed the Lycus on the west of Laodicea, near an ordinary bridge, and, in about three quarters of an hour, the Mæander; which here had two beams laid across it, with planks; the water deep in its bed, muddy, as usual, and rapid. Some men, who were digging a trench in the plain, left off, and waited our approach. They were headed by a chiaush, or *the messenger* of an aga, who commanded in a small village to the west of Pambouk. He stopped us at a narrow pass, seizing the bridles of the horses which were fore-

* Laodicea was six miles from Hierapolis. *Antonin. Itir.*

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most. Our janizary galloped up, and interposing, was informed the aga insisted on *bac-shish*.

We rode on to Pambouk, and, while our tent was pitching, the janizary went to the aga with our *firhman*, and a present of coffee and sugar. He was civilly received, the aga commiserating our late ill usage, of which he had heard, and complaining, that the same person had extorted from him an extravagant ransom for a stray beast; saying, he was a man of a bad character, of an imperious temper, and, from his superior power, the tyrant of that country. He demanded five okes of coffee; and some other claims were made for his officers, amounting in the whole to ten okes, for which money was accepted. He declared we had no danger to apprehend by day at Pambouk, but recommended our leaving the ruins early in the evening. We enjoyed by anticipation the security he foretold.

Our tent stood on a green dry spot beneath the cliff. The view before us was so marvellous, that the description of it, to bear even a faint resemblance, ought to appear romantic. The vast slope, which, at a distance, we had taken for chalk, was now beheld with wonder, it seeming an immense frozen cascade, the surface wavy, as of water at once fixed, or in its headlong course suddenly petrified. Round about us were many high, bare, stony ridges; and close by our tent, one with a wide basis, and a slender rill of water, clear, soft, and warm, running in a small channel on the top. A woman was washing linen in it, with a child at her back; and beyond were cabins of the Turcomans, standing distinct, much neater than any we had seen; each with poultry feeding, and a fence of reeds in front.

It is an old observation, that the country about the Mæan-

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der, the soil being light and friable, and full of salts generating inflammable matter, was undermined by fire and water. Hence it abounded in hot springs, which, after passing underground from the reservoirs, appeared on the mountain, or were found bubbling up in the plain, or in the mud of the river: and hence it was subject to frequent earthquakes; the nitrous vapour, compressed in the cavities and sublimed by heat or fermentation, bursting its prison with loud explosions, agitating the atmosphere, and shaking the earth and waters with a violence as extensive as destructive; and hence, moreover, the pestilential grottos, which had subterraneous communications with each other, derived their noisome effluvia; and, serving as smaller vents to these furnaces or hollows, were regarded as apertures of hell, as passages for deadly fumes rising up from the realms of Pluto. One or more of the mountains perhaps has burned. It may be suspected, that the surface of the country has, in some places, been formed from its own bowels; and in particular, it seems probable, that the hill of Laodicea was originally an irruption.

The hot waters of Hierapolis have produced that most extraordinary phenomenon, the cliff, which is one entire incrustation. They were anciently renowned for this species of transformation.* It is related, they changed so easily, that being conducted about the vineyards and gardens, the channels became long fences, each a single stone. They produced the ridges by our tent. The road up to the ruins, which appears as a wide and high causey, is a petrification; and over-

* See Strabo, p. 629. 437. Pausanias, p. 241. Vitruvius, l. 8. c. 3. Ulpian *Pandect*, l. 43.

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looks many green spots, once vineyards and gardens, separated by partitions of the same material. The surface of the flat, above the cliff, is rough with stone and with channels, branching out in various directions; a large pool overflowing and feeding the numerous rills, some of which spread over the slope, as they descend, and give to the white stony bed a humid look, resembling salt or driven snow, when melting. This crust, which has no taste or smell, being an alkaline, will ferment with acids; and Picenini relates, that trial of it has been made with spirit of vitriol. The waters, though hot, were used in agriculture.

Tamerlane, when he invaded this country, encamped for the summer at Tangúzlik, where many of his men were destroyed by drinking of a spring, which stagnated and petrified. I should have supposed that place to have been Hierapolis; but other hot waters, with a similar cliff, will be mentioned in a following chapter. The Turkish name Pambouk signifies *cotton*, and, it has been said, refers to the whiteness of the incrustation.

The shepherd-poet of Smyrna, after mentioning a cave in Phrygia sacred to the nymphs, relates, that there Luna had once descended from the sky to Endymion, while he was sleeping by his herds; that marks of their bed were then extant under the oaks; and that in the thickets around it the milk of cows had been spilt, which men still beheld with admiration; for, such was the appearance, if you saw it very far off; but, that from thence flowed clear or warm water, which in a little while concreted round about the channels, and formed a stone pavement.‡ The writer de-

‡ Q. Smyrnæus, l. v. 128.

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scribes the cliff of Hierapolis, if I mistake not, as in his time, and has added a local story, current when he lived. It was the genius of the people to unite fiction with truth; and, as in this and other instances, to dignify the tales of their mythology with fabulous evidence, taken from the natural wonders, in which their country abounded.

CHAP. LXIX.

Remains of Hierapolis—The theatre—Ancient manner of sitting—Use of the hot waters—The pool—The Plutonium—Our disappointment.

We ascended in the morning to the ruins, which are on a flat, passing by sepulchres with inscriptions, and entering the city from the east. We had soon the theatre on our right hand, and the pool between us and the cliff. Opposite to it, near the margin of the cliff, is the remain of an amazing structure, once perhaps baths, or as we conjectured, a gymnasium; the huge vaults of the roof striking horror as we rode underneath. Beyond it is the mean ruin of a modern fortress; and, farther on, are massive walls of edifices, several of them leaning from their perpendicular, the stones distorted, and seeming every moment ready to fall, the effects and evidences of violent and repeated earthquakes. In a recess of the mountain, on the right hand, is the area of a stadium. Then again sepulchres succeed, some nearly buried in the mountain-side, and one, a square building, with an inscription in large letters. All these remains are plain, and of the

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stone created by the waters. The site has been computed about two hundred paces wide, and a mile in length.

After taking a general survey, we returned to the theatre, intending to copy inscriptions and examine more particularly, as we changed our station. We found this a very large and sumptuous structure, and the least ruined of any we had seen. Part of the front is standing. In the heap, which lies in confusion, are many sculptures well executed in basso-relievo; with pieces of architrave inscribed, but disjointed; or so encumbered with massive marbles, that we could collect from them no information. The character is large and bold, with ligatures. The marble seats are still unremoved. The numerous ranges are divided by a low semicircular wall, near mid-way, with inscriptions on the face of it, but mostly illegible. I copied a short, but imperfect one, in which Apollo Archegetes of *The Leader* is requested to be propitious. In another compartment, mention is made of the city by its name Hierapolis; and on a third is an encomium in verse,* which may be thus translated, "Hail golden city Hierapolis; the spot to be preferred before any in wide Asis; revered for the rills of the nymphs; adorned with splendour."—The nymphs presided over springs and fountains.

The reader may recollect some other theatres and a stadium, in which many of the seats remained in their places, and entire. After attentively viewing them, and considering their height, width, and manner of arrangement, I am inclined to believe that the ancient Asiatics sate at their plays and public spectacles, like the modern, with their legs crossed, or gathered under them; and, it is probable, upon carpets.

* Inscript. Ant. p. 31.

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The waters of Hierapolis were surprisingly attempered for tinging wool with a colour from roots rivalling the more costly purples; and were a principal source of the riches of the place. The company of dyers is mentioned in the inscription,* on the square building among the sepulchres. That heroum, or monument, was to be crowned by them with garlands or festoons of flowers. The springs flowed so copiously, that the city was full of spontaneous baths, and Apollo, the tutelar deity of the Hierapolitans, with Æsculapius and Hygiéa, on their medals, bear witness to the medicinal virtues which they possess. The people, in some of their inscriptions, are styled *the most splendid*, and the senate *the most powerful*.

The pool before the theatre has been a bath, and marble fragments are visible at the bottom of the water, which is perfectly transparent, and of a briny taste. The women of the aga, after bathing in it, came to the theatre, where we were employed, to see us, with their faces muffled. They were succeeded by the aga, with several attendants. He was a young man of good deportment and uncommon affability. He discoursed with our janizary, sitting cross-legged, on the ruins, smoking and drinking coffee; and expressed his regret, that no water fit to drink could be discovered there; wishing, if we possessed the knowledge of any from our books, we would communicate it to him; saying, it would be a benefit, for which all future travellers should experience his gratitude.

Hierapolis was noted, besides its hot waters, for a Plutonium.† This was an opening in a small brow of the adjacent

* Inscript. Ant. p. 31.

† Strabo, p. 629. See Casaubon on the passage. Comment, p. 232.

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mountain, capable of admitting a man, and very deep, with a square fence before it, inclosing about half an acre; which space was filled with black thick mist, so that the bottom could be scarcely discerned. The air, to those who approached it, was innocent on the outside of the fence, being clear of the mist in serene weather; it remaining then within the boundary; but there death abode. Bulls, as at Nysa, dropt down, and were dragged forth without life; and some sparrows, which Strabo let fly, instantly fell senseless. But eunuchs, the priests of Magna Mater, or Cybele, could go in quite to the aperture, lean forward, or enter it unharmed; but they held their breath, as their visages testified, and sometimes until in danger of suffocation. Strabo, the relater, was in doubt, whether all eunuchs could do this, or only they of the temple; and whether they were preserved by divine Providence, as in cases of enthusiasm, or were possessed of some powerful antidotes. But it is likely this mist was the condensed steam of the hot waters,† made noxious by the qualities of the soil; and that the whole secret of the priests consisted in carrying their faces high in the air, as another spectator has observed they always did; and in avoiding respiration when they stooped. I had hoped the description of this spot would have enabled me to find it, but I searched about for it unsuccessfully.

We descended to our tent at the approach of evening, by a steep track down the cliff, beginning beyond the pool, in which we also bathed with pleasure, on the side next the gymnasium. Our way was often rough and slippery, resembling ice, and our horses with difficulty preserved their

† Pausanias, p. 152.

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footing. When arrived at our tent I renewed my inquiries for the Plutonium, and an old Turk, with a beard as white as snow, told me, he knew the place, that it was often fatal to their goats; and, accounting for the effect, said, it was believed to be the habitation of a demon, or evil spirit. We ascended again early in the morning to the theatre, where he had promised to join us; and a live fowl was intended to be the martyr of experiment. But we met this day with some unexpected interruption, which made us leave Hierapolis in haste, as will be related in a subsequent chapter.

CHAP. LXX.

Of Collosæ and the Lycus—Rise of the Mæander and the Marsyas—Celænæ—Apamea Cibotos—Course of the Mæander—Apamea subject to earthquakes—Route of Xerxes into Lydia.

It had been my intention to extend our journey eastward to the sources of the Mæander. We were prevented from advancing farther than Laodicea and Hierapolis. I shall therefore endeavour to supply the deficiency, by giving as clear an account, as I can, of the ancient geography of that region, which has been much perplexed.

Among the smaller places in Phrygia, lying round Laodicea and Apamea, was Colossæ, once a large and populous city; where the Lycus, entering a chasm in the ground, disappeared for at most five stadia, or above half a mile; after which it re-emerged, and pursued its way by Laodicea to

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the Mæander.* The Lycus rose on Mount Cadmus, as did also another stream of the same name as the mountain.

Beyond Colossæ was a summit, and once a city, named Celænæ;† above which was a lake, where the reed grew, which was used as the tongue or mouth-piece of the aulos or flute, and where they fabled of Olympus, and of Marsyas, and his contest with Apollo. This lake was the reservoir or head of the Mæander and of the Marsyas,‡ both which rose below it, separate, and were revered by all the Phrygians in those parts, who sacrificed to them, singly or jointly; calling on the river-god, to whom they offered, and throwing the thighs of the victims into the source; when the present was carried underground by the eddy, and given, as they said, to the stream for which it was designed; or if intended for both, divided; neither current invading the property of its neighbour.

Celænæ, a large and flourishing city at the sources of the two rivers below the lake, was the capital of Phrygia. The *Great King* or emperor of Persia, had a strong place beneath the citadel, by the springs of the Marsyas, which rose in the market-place, not less in size than the Mæander, and flowed through the city. Cyrus the younger, had also a place there, but by the springs of the Mæander, which river passed likewise through the city. He had, moreover, an extensive paradise or park, full of wild beasts, which he hunted on horseback for exercise or amusement; and watered by

* Herodotus, l. 7. c. 30. Strabo, p. 576.

† Strabo, p. 578. See Comment, p. 221.

‡ The Marsyas was the river next Caria, as appears from the action mentioned in chap. lviii. The Carians were assembled by the Marsyas, and one of the leaders advised passing the Mæander, and fighting with that river in the rear.

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the Mæander, which ran through the middle. Xerxes was said to have built these palaces and the citadel after his return from his expedition into Greece.

Antiochus Soter removed the inhabitants of Celænæ into a city, which he named from his mother, Apamea; and which became afterwards a mart inferior only to Ephesus. It was seated on a root of Mount Signia, and surrounded by the Marsyas, Obrimas, and Orgas. The stream of the Marsyas was hid, not far from its rise, in a vale called Aulocrene; the scene, it was fabled of the contest with Apollo, ten miles from Apamea on the way into Phrygia. It flowed through the middle of this city, which was near its mouth; and pouring down into the suburb with a vehement precipitate current, the stream twenty-five feet wide, and without windings, joined the Mæander; which having before received the Orgas, passed through the plain, mild and gentle. The springs of the Obrimas, which ran likewise into the Mæander, were on the borders of Pisidia. The Marsyas has been styled the most transparent river of Phrygia; and, *The Cataract*, from its falling down the rock with a mighty noise.*

The Mæander, augmented by the three rivers, after wandering through the Apamene plain, proceeded larger and deeper, with many windings from the pastures of Phrygia, into the vine-clad province of the Carians; which it divided from Lydia near the plain properly called *The Mæandrian*, where the bed was crooked in an uncommon degree. This, or the upper Caria, ending, it flowed quietly into that of the Ionians, increased by the accession of numerous streams; and,

* Strabo, p. 577. See Comment. Pliny, l. 5. c. 29. Claudian in Eutrop. l. 2. v. 264. Q. Smyrnæus à v. 283. Ovid Metam. l. 8. Pausanias, p. 28.

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after visiting many towns, and fertilizing with its slime the fair plains, smoothly entered the sea; which perhaps once washed the foot both of Celænæ and of Signia. The river was navigable a considerable way above the mouth, and one Melesander is recorded as having gone on it with his ships into the Upper Caria. Its eels were much prized by the ancient epicures; and its banks were remarkably clothed with tamarisks.

The people of Apamea, though inland, were worshippers of Neptune. The reason, it has been conjectured, was, that they had suffered often from earthquakes, of which he was supposed the author. Mithridates gave a hundred talents toward the restoration of the city; which, it is said, had likewise been overthrown in the time of Alexander. Their tribute-money was remitted to them for five years on the same account, under the emperor Tiberius. The subterraneous passage of the Lycus, and the other streams, shewed that the ground had many cavities; and these, it has been surmised, rendered the region very liable to be shaken. Between Laodicea and Apamea was a muddy lake of salt water, which had a private vent: and the name Celænæ had been interpreted to denote the colour of the stones, and the blackness occasioned by fiery eruptions.*

Xerxes on his expedition into Greece, came by Celænæ and the salt lake, to Colossæ and Cydrary, where was the boundary of the Lydians and Phrygians. He then entered Lydia,

* Strabo, p. 579. The reader, if curious concerning the Apamean medals treated of by the author of an *Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, may receive satisfaction from consulting *Museum C. Albani*, v. 1, pl. 49. p. 99. and *Museum Florentium*, v. 4, pl. 76, and v. 6, p. 149.

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and the road dividing, the left branch leading into Caria, the right toward Sardes, took the latter; on which it was necessary to pass the Mæander. Laodicea did not then exist, but, it is probable, he marched by the site, as his route to Sardes appears to have been nearly the same with that which we shall pursue, after leaving Hierapolis, and recovering the main road from Laodicea westward.

CHAP. LXXI.

Picenini's journey to Chonas—To Pambouk—Pococke's journey to Chonos—Remarks—Pococke's journey continued—Dinglar, Apamea—Ishecleh, Celænæ.

The reader may be introduced to a farther knowledge of the region, which is the subject of the preceding chapter, by an extract from the diary of Picenini, and from the travels of an author, by whom its ancient geography is greatly mistaken.

Picenini, with his companions, set out from Laodicea, and proceeded two hours, when they passed through a pleasant wood of tall trees; and, after three hours more, came to a village called Chonos, which has been supposed Colossæ. It stands under a very high and almost inaccessible hill, the cottages on the steep or acclivity, from which they had a view over the plain from the east to the south-west. Here they found the Greeks ignorant of their own language. Their church, which was in the castle on the hill, resembled a wine-vault. Their papas or priest was of Cyprus, and had the care of about forty families, of the same progeny as the Turks.

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Leaving this place at ten in the morning, and passing a river, they saw soon after, for the space of a mile, pieces of columns, ruined inscriptions, and other remains; and also, several irregular winding channels, with a current, as they conjectured, of mineral water. Then directing their course more to the west, in three hours they came to a river and a plane-tree; and, going on, in less than an hour and a half had Pambouk in view on their right hand.

Pococke set out from Denesli, and, going to the north-east, passed by a large stream called Sultan Emir, which he supposes the Cadmus, running near that corner of the mountains, from which the hills of Laodicea begin, and falling into the Lycas about a league to the east of that place. He crossed this river at a bridge by an old khan, called Accan, well-built, of white marble from some ancient ruin. Mount Cadmus turns here to the east, and continues about six miles. At the northern foot of it is a rock, where Soley Bey commonly resided, and had eleven pieces of cannon for his defence; and a village underneath, which is that supposed to be Colossæ. All over the plain were small channels for water, then dry, incrusted like those of Pambouk.

Chinos seems to have had the same affinity with Colossæ as Denesli with Laodicea: a papas or priest at Philadelphia informed me there were about two hundred Greek families. The river, which Picenini passed on leaving Chonos, was probably the Lycus; and the ruins, which succeeded, the remains of Colossæ. The other river must have been the Mæander. Pococke does not distinguish between Chonos and Colossæ. He has mistaken the Lycas for Cadmus; and the Mæander, as several other travellers have done, for the Lycus.

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Pococke continued his journey eastward from Chonos; when a little farther on, the hills ran for about two leagues to the north, and then turning toward the east again, were the southern boundary of a fine vale about one league wide, and four long. On the south side of these hills are waters, like those of Hierapolis, incrusting the slope with a white petrification; and on the opposite side are other hot waters. He came to the foot of the high hills on the north of this vale, where was an encampment of Turcomans, and crossed over the woody mountain to the north-east to a village, where he passed the night. He went on in this small plain, which leads on the north-west into the great plains of the Mæander, where the river runs along on the west-side for about twelve miles, and then goes in between the hills. He describes the Mæander as running to the west, at the distance of eight miles from the north end of the plain, and as turning south from near the west side.

We are now, with Pococke, not far from the junction of the Marsyas with the Mæander; for he mentions a plain uniting with this and extending to the east, about two leagues wide and four long, with a high hill and a village called Dinglar at the east end, where he was told a river rises, and falls down a hill from a lake at the top; and where, as he was informed, are ruins. Dinglar, if I mistake not, was Apamea; which place, it is to be noted, was on the way from Laodicea to the east. There was *The Cataract* of the river Marsyus, which rose some miles distant on the road leading to Phrygia.

Pococke went on, over the Mæander, where it crosses the large plain, to a village on the north side; and the next day, after travelling eight miles, came to a town, called Ishecleh,

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under the hills, which are at the north end of the plain; beneath one, which is very high and steep, and has on it some remains of an ancient fortress. In the town were many pieces of pillars, and wrought stones, and imperfect inscriptions; but it is most remarkable for its delightful situation at the sources of a river now called Ochieuse, which rises at the foot of the mountain in eight or nine streams. Some of these are large, and very clear; and all, he relates, soon unite, and run through the plain into the Mæander. He supposes the two rivers at Ishecleh and Dinglar to be fourteen miles apart. The plain between the two places, of which the former was once, I think, evidently Celænæ, is bounded to the north and south by high hills. This, it seems, was Aulocrene. In it is a river called Bourabasha, which falls into the Mæander, and is by Pococke supposed to be the Orgas.

CHAP. LXXII.

We are embroiled at Hierapolis—Retire to our tent—Fly—Ford the Mæander—Our conác, or resting-place—Booths of the Turcomans—Ruins of Tripolis—Its history—Arrive at Bullada.

We are now to relate the occasion of our sudden departure from Hierapolis. While we were busy at the theatre, the aga of a village eastward came to bathe with a considerable retinue, and two of his men summoned our janizary to appear before him. He was sitting beneath a wall, in the shade of the large ruin; and among the Turks with him were a couple, whom we had treated on the preceding day with coffee. He alleged, that we had knowledge of hidden

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treasure, and had already filled with it the provision chests, which he had seen by our tent; and demanded one of them as his share. He treated the janizary as mocking him, when he endeavoured to explain the nature of our errand, and the manner in which we had been employed. The janizary returned to us, exclaiming, as at Eski-hissar, that we were among rebels and robbers; that neither equity, our firhman, or the grand seignior would avail us; that, unless we would repent too late, it behoved us to hasten away. He was prevailed on, however, to remonstrate again; but the aga insisted on his claim with threatenings, if we did not speedily comply.

It seemed an exorbitant sum would be requisite to glut this extortioner and his dependants; and, if he were gratified, we might still expect other agas to follow his example, and be harassed until we were quite stripped of our money. The dispute growing very serious, we were apprehensive of immediate violence; and it was deemed prudent to retire by the causey to our tent. At the same time, his two men, who had tarried by us, mounted their horses with visible chagrin, and rode off, as was surmised, to the village with orders.

On our arrival at the tent we held a consultation, when the janizary warmly urged the peril of our present situation; that the frontier of the Cuthayan* Pashalike, in which we were, was inhabited by a lawless and desperate people, who committed often the most daring outrages with impunity. He recommended the regaining, as fast as possible, the Pashalike of Guzel-hissar. It was indeed the general desire, that we might remove from a region, in which we had already experi-

* Cuthaya, anciently Cotsæum in Phrygia.

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enced so much solicitude, and where our safety for a moment was deemed precarious. Our men were alert in striking the tent, and loading our baggage; and at nine in the morning we fled from Pambouk, under the conduct of our janizary.

We forded the Mæander by a wooden bridge for foot passengers, with the water up to the bellies of our horses. We rode through a court before the house of the aga, with whom we had first treated, and saw there some marble fragments, probably removed from the adjacent ruins. The village is exceedingly mean and small.

Keeping up the plain to recover the road from Laodicea westward, we had on our left a narrow and deep water-course. The stream, at an over-shot mill, was turned from its channel, and permitted at intervals to run into the corn fields. The rills also from the mountain were conducted into lands recently ploughed, on which cranes were stalking to devour insects or reptiles, distressed by the moisture. We hurried on, apprehensive of being pursued, until we were opposite the snowy summit, beneath which we had pitched our tent, going to Denisli. We found there a company of Turks, and alighted to dine near them under some trees, which grow by a fountain. These repasts were usually followed by sleep on a carpet in the shade.

The travellers, with whom our men conversed, informed them, that the Turcomans, encamped in the plain on the other side of the Mæander, had very lately plundered some caravans, and cut off the heads of the people who opposed them. We disliked this intelligence, and set out again after two hours, fearing we might be benighted among them. Leaving the road to Magnesia on the left hand, we came in half an hour to a crazy wooden bridge, over a rapid stream,

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falling, lower down, into the Mæander. This river had also a wooden bridge on piles which we crossed; with one of stone, in view, higher up, consisting of a single arch. The plain was here very wide and smooth, and covered with the black booths of the Turcomans. Our janizary appeared as one half frantic, if he saw any one of the company straggling, or loitering on the way. We pushed briskly through, and then travelled westward in a green and pleasant recess of the mountain Messogis.

On entering the recess, we had on our right hand, at a distance, the ruins of Tripolis. Smith* relates, that he saw there only huge stones, lying confusedly in heaps, besides vestiges of a theatre and of a castle. We could plainly discern the naked site of the former on the slope of Messogis, and beneath it masses of wall, remnants of the fortress. About half an hour to the west is a flourishing town or village. A stream, of which we had a distinct view from the mountains the next morning, winds not far off in the plain, and has been mistaken by several travellers for the Mæander. Smith forded it near Tripolis, in his way to Pambouk, where he arrived about four hours after.

Tripolis is the place, where St. Bartholomew taught, and St. Philip is said to have suffered martyrdom. It was afterwards the see of a bishop. John Ducas, the second emperor of Nice, had an interview there with the Turkish sultan in 1244. It was enlarged and fortified for a bulwark to cover Philadelphia. In 1306 it was in the possession of the Turks, who had besieged and taken it by stratagem; and Alisuras made from it his incursions into the empire. It is not men-

* Survey of the Seven Churches, p. 245.

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tioned by Strabo; but in the Antonine Itinerary is placed twelve miles from Hierapolis, and thirty-three from Philadelphia; and, in Peutinger's Table, from Tralles fifteen.

We rode on by fine crops of barley, with a large water-course on our left hand; and, after nine hours, arrived in the dusk of evening at Bullada, a Turkish town; the houses numerous and scattered on slopes, with a bridge crossing the bed of a torrent, then dry. We were lodged in a new khan, small, but unusually neat; and from the windows, in the morning, had an extensive view over the plain. We could see part of the white cliff of Hierapolis. On inquiry, we found that we were now only a journey of about four days from Smyrna, going the direct road; and were assured, that the plague raged there with uncommon fury.

CHAP. LXXIII.

Our mode of living—Mount Tmolus—The region named Catakekaumene—The river Hermus—We arrive at Ala-shahir, or Philadelphia.

Our mode of living in this tour had been more rough than can well be described. We had endeavoured to avoid, as much as possible, communicating with the people of the country; and had commonly pitched our tent by some well, brook, or fountain, near a village; where we could purchase eggs, fowls, a lamb or kid, rice, fruits, wine, rakí or white brandy, and the like necessaries: with bread, which was often gritty, and of the most ordinary kind. We had seldom pulled off our clothes at night; sleeping sometimes with our

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boots and hats on, as by day; a portmanteau or large stone serving instead of pillow or bolster. But one consideration had softened the sensations of fatigue, and sweetened all our hardships. It was the comfortable reflection, that we enjoyed our liberty, and were, as we conceived, at a distance from the plague; but now we were about to lose that satisfaction, and at every stage to approach nearer to the seat of infection.

We had agreed to visit Ala-shahir,* or Philadelphia; and, setting out in the morning, ascended the mountain, which is Messogis, and turned to the north-west, through a cultivated tract, the way good, to hills green with flowering shrubs, and in particular with Labdanum. The air partook of their fragrancy, and dispensed to us the sweet odours of Mount Tmolus. The manner of gathering the gum from the leaves, with the whip or instrument made use of, is described by Tournefort. After five hours we alighted, and dined beneath a tree by a well. We then entered a deep narrow track, and came in two hours more to a village, and pitched our tent on a dry spot; with an old castle on the mountain on our left hand, and before us an extensive plain, in which the river Hermus runs.

This region, which is above, or to the east of Philadelphia, was called Catakekaumene, or *The Burned*. By some it was reckoned in Mysia, by others in Mæonia, or Lydia. It was five hundred stadia, or sixty-two miles and a half long, and four hundred stadia, or fifty miles broad; and anciently bare of trees, but covered with vines, which produced the wine called by its name, and esteemed not inferior to any in good-

* Allahscheyr, *The City of God.*

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ness. The surface of the plain, which is now turf, was then spread with ashes; and the range of mountains was stony and black, as from a conflagration, which some, who fabled that Typho was destroyed there, supposed to have been occasioned by lightning; but earth-born fire was concerned, instead of the giant and Jupiter. This was evident from three pits, which they called Physæ, or *The Bellows*, distant from each other about forty stadia, or five miles, with rough hills above them, formed, it was believed, by cinders from their volcanoes. The wits of old, observing such places peculiarly fertile in vines, affirmed, alluding to the story of Semele, it was no fiction that Bacchus was begotten by fire.*

The river Hermus, which divides this plain, began near Dorylæum, a city of Phrygia; rising on the mountain Dindymus, which was sacred to Cybele, the mother of the gods. From this region it flowed into the Sardian, and received the Phrygius, which separated Phrygia from Caria; and also many other streams from Mysia and Lydia, in its way to the sea.

In the morning we descended from the mountain, and winding toward the left, soon after met a cow laden with the dwelling, the goods, and chattels of a Turcoman family; a very grotesque and risible figure. A woman followed, trudging on foot, with a child at her back, her naked breasts hanging down before her. In half an hour we crossed a stream rising near, and running eastward; and then passed by a spot, where a number of the Turcomans were loading their camels, and busied in removing their booths, their wives, children, and cattle. The plain was cultivated We entered the ca-

* Strabo, p. 576. 626. 628.

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ravan road from Angora to Smyrna, when our course became west, with Mount Tmolus on our left hand; and arrived, in three hours and a half, at Ala-shahir.

CHAP. LXXIV.

Of Philadelphia—Its modern history—The present town—A mineral spring, and the supposed wall of bones—Disuse of the Greek tongue—Civility of the people—News of the plague—We arrive at Sardes.

Attalus Philadelphus, brother of Eumenes, was the founder of Philadelphia, which stood on a root of Mount Tmolus, by the river Cogamus. The frequent earthquakes, which it experienced, were owing to its vicinity with the region called Catakekaumene. Even the city-walls were not secure, but were shaken almost daily, and disparted. The inhabitants lived in perpetual apprehension, and were always employed in repairs. They were few in number, the people residing chiefly in the country, and cultivating the soil, which was fertile.*

John Ducas, the Greek general to whom Laodicea submitted, took Philadelphia with Sardes by assault, in 1097. It was again reduced, about the year 1106, under the same emperor, without difficulty. Two years after, the Turks marched from the East, with a design to plunder it and the maritime cities. In 1175 the emperor Manuel, falling into an ambuscade of the Turks, not far from the sources of the Mæander,

* Strabo, p. 579. 628.

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retired to this place. In the division of the conquests of sultan Aladin, in 1300, the inner parts of Phrygia, as far as Cilicia and Philadelphia, fell by lot to Karamân. The town in 1306 was besieged by Alisuras, who took the forts near, and distressed it, but retired on the approach of the Roman army. It is related, that the Philadelphians despised the Turks, having a tradition, that their city had never been taken. The Tripolines requested succour from the general, the Grand Duke Roger; who, after defeating the enemy, returned hither, by the forts of Kula and Turnus, and exacted money. In 1391 Philadelphia singly refused to admit Bajazet; but wanting provisions was forced to capitulate. Cineis, on his reconciliation with Amir, prince of Ionia, drew over to his interest, this place, with Sardes, Nymphéum, and the country as far as the Hermus.

It was anciently matter of surprise, that Philadelphia was not abandoned, and yet it has survived many cities less liable to earthquakes, and continues now a mean, but considerable town, of large extent, spreading up the slopes of three or four hills. Of the wall, which encompassed it, many remnants are standing, but with large gaps. The materials of this fortification are small stones, with strong cement. It is thick and lofty, and has round towers. On the top, at regular distances, were a great number of nests, each as big as a bushel; with the cranes, their owners, by them single, or in pairs. The bed of the Cogamus, which is on the north-east side, was almost dry. The French traveller, Paul Lucas,* has mistaken this place for Laodicea.

Going a little up the Cogamus, between the mountains, in

* Vol. 1. p. 306.

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the bank, on the right hand, is a spring of a purgative quality, much esteemed and resorted to in the hot months. It tasted like ink, is clear, and tinges the earth with the colour of ochre. Farther up, beyond the town, on the left hand, is the wall, which, it has been said, was built with human bones, after a massacre, by one of the sultans. That wonder† is nothing more than the remnant of a duct, which has conveyed water of a petrifying quality, as at Laodicea. This incrusted some vegetable substances, which have perished, and left behind, as it were, their moulds. It was now partly fallen, but served as a fence between two corn fields. The whole is much decayed, the pieces easily breaking and crumbling.

The bishop of Philadelphia was absent, but the protopapas or chief priest, his substitute, whom we went to visit, received us at his palace, a title given to a very indifferent house, or rather a cottage, of clay. We found him ignorant of the Greek tongue, and were forced to discourse with him, by an interpreter, in the Turkish language. He had no idea that Philadelphia existed before Christianity, but told us it had become a city in consequence of the many religious foundations. The number of churches he reckoned at twenty four, mostly in ruins, and mere masses of wall decorated with painted saints. Only six are in a better condition, and have their priests. The episcopal church is large, and ornamented with gilding, carving, and holy portraits. The Greeks are about three hundred families, and live in a friendly intercourse with the Turks, of whom they speak well. We were assured that the clergy and laity in general knew as little of

† See Rycaut—and Woodward's Catalogue of Foreign Fossils, p. 11.

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Greek as the proto-papas; and yet the liturgies and offices of the church are read as elsewhere, and have undergone no alteration on that account.

The Philadelphians are a civil people. One of the Greeks sent us a small earthen vessel full of choice wine. Some families beneath the trees, by a rill of water, invited us to alight, and partake of their refreshments. They saluted us, when we met; and the aga, or governor, on hearing that we were Franks, bade us welcome by a messenger.

Philadelphia possessing waters excellent in dying, and being situated on one of the most capital roads to Smyrna, is much frequented, especially by Armenian merchants. The khan, in which we lodged, was very filthy, and full of passengers. Mules arrived almost hourly, and were unladen in the area. As a caravan goes regularly to Smyrna, and returns on stated days, we were uneasy here, and afraid of infection. The accounts now given us of the plague, and of the havock it was making, were such, that the most intrepid person might reasonably shudder with horror and apprehension.

We set out at nine in the morning from Philadelphia for Sardes, distant twenty eight miles, according to the Antonine Itinerary. The way is by the feet of Mount Tmolus, which was on our left; consisting of uneven, separate, sandy, hills, in a row, green and pleasant, once clothed with vines, but now neglected. Behind them was a high ridge covered with snow. The plain, besides the Hermus, which divides it, is well watered by rills from the slopes. It is wide, beautiful, and cultivated; but has few villages, being possessed by the Turcomans, who, in this region, were reputed thieves, but not given to bloodshed. Their booths and cattle were

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innumerable. We stopped, after an hour, at a handsome fountain. The cistern was a marble coffin, carved with festoons, and inscribed in Greek "Of Appius." In an old burying-ground near it were marble fragments. We travelled three hours and a half north-westward, and as long westward. We met numerous caravans, chiefly of mules, on the road; or saw them by its side feeding on the green pasture, their burthens lying on the ground; the passengers sitting in groups eating, or sleeping on the grass. We pitched our tent about sunset, and the next day, after riding two hours in the same direction, arrived at Sardes, now called Sart.

CHAP. LXXV.

Of Sardes—Taken by Cyrus—The town burnt by the Ionians—Surrenders to Alexander—Suffers from an earthquake—Its later history—The theatre—A stratagem of Antiochus—Other remains—The hill, and Pactolus—The village—Ruin of a temple—Perhaps of Cybele.

Lydia was celebrated for its city Sardes, which was of great antiquity, though posterior to the war of Troy.* It was enriched by the fertility of the soil, and had been the capital of the Lydian kings. It was seated on the side of Mount Tmolus, and the citadel was remarkable for its strength. This was on a lofty hill; the back part, or that towards Tmolus, a perpendicular precipice. One of the kings, an ancestor of Crœsus, it is related, believed, that by leading a

* Strabo, p. 625. Herodotus, l. 1.

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lion about the wall, he should render the fortress impregnable, and neglected that portion of it as totally inaccessible.

Crœsus, who was tyrant or king of all the nations within the river Halys, engaging Cyrus, who had followed him into Lydia, was defeated in the plain before the city, the Lydian horses not enduring the sight, or smell of the camels. Cyrus then besieged him, and offered a reward for the person, who should first mount the wall. One of his soldiers had seen a Lydian descend for his helmet, which had rolled down the back of the citadel. He tried to ascend there, where not even a centinel was placed, and succeeded. Afterwards the Persian satrapas, or commandant, resided at Sardes, as the emperor did at Susa.

In the time of Darius, the Milesians sailed to Ephesus, and leaving their vessels at Mount Corissus, marched up by the river Cayster, and crossing Mount Tmolus, surprised the city, except the fortress, in which was a numerous garrison. A soldier set fire to one of the houses, which were thatched, and presently the town was in flames. The Ionians retreated to Tmolus, and in the night to their ships.*

The city and fortress surrendered on the approach of Alexander, after the battle of the Granicus. His army encamped by the river Hermus, which was twenty stadia, or two miles and a half distant. He went up to the citadel, which was then fortified with a triple wall, and resolved to erect in it a temple and altar to Jupiter Olympius, on the site of the royal palace of the Lydians.†

Sardes under the Romans was a large city, and not inferior to any of its neighbours, until the terrible earthquake, which

* Herodotus, l. v. † Arrian, p. 36.

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happened in the time of Tiberius Cæsar. Magnesia by Sipylus, Philadelphia, Laodicea, Ephesus, and several more cities partook largely in that calamity; but this place suffered prodigiously, and was much pitied. The munificence of the emperor was nobly exerted to repair the various damages, and Sardes owed its recovery to Tiberius.*

The emperor Julian made Chrysanthius, a Sardian of a senatorial family, pontiff of Lydia.† He attempted to restore the heathen worship; erecting temporary altars at Sardes, where none had been left, and repairing the temples, if any vestiges remained. In the year 400, the Goths, under Tribigild and Caianas, officers in the Roman pay, who had revolted from the emperor Arcadius, plundered the city. In the subsequent troubles in Asia, the natives in general were compelled to retire for safety to the hills and strong holds. At Sardes they permitted the Turks, on an incursion of the Tartars in 1304, to occupy a portion of the citadel separated by a strong wall with a gate, and afterwards murdered them in their sleep.

The site of this once noble city was now green and flowery. Coming from the east, we had the ground-plot of the theatre at some distance on our left hand, with a small brook near us, running before it. This structure was in a brow, which unites with the hill of the citadel, and was called Prion. Some pieces of the vault, which supported seats, and completed the semicircle, remain.

It was on this side the effort was made, which gave Antiochus possession of Sardes. An officer had observed that vultures and birds of prey gathered there about the offals

* Strabo, p. 579. 627. Tacitus Ann. 2 c. 47. † Eunapius, p. 154.

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and dead bodies thrown into the hollow by the besieged, and inferred that the wall, standing on the edge of the precipices, was neglected as secure from any attempt. He scaled it with a resolute party, while Antiochus called off the attention both of his own army and of the enemy by a feint; marching as if he intended to attack the Persian gate. Two thousand soldiers rushed in at the gate opened for them, and took their post at the theatre, when the town was plundered and burned.*

Going on, we passed by remnants of massive buildings; marble piers, sustaining heavy fragments of arches of brick; and more indistinct ruins. These are in the plain, before the hill of the citadel. On our right hand, near the road, was a portion of a large edifice, with a heap of ponderous materials before and behind it. The walls are standing of two large, lofty, and very long rooms, with a space between them, as of a passage. This remain, it has been conjectured, was the house of Crœsus,† once appropriated by the Sardians, as a place of retirement, to superannuated citizens. It was called the Gerusia, and in it, as some Roman authors have remarked, was exemplified the extreme durability of the ancient brick.‡ The walls in this ruin have double arches beneath, and consist chiefly of that material, with layers of stone. The bricks are exceedingly fine and good, of various sizes, some flat, and broad. We employed a man to procure one entire, but the cement proved so very hard and tenacious, it was next to impossible. Both Crœsus and Mausolus, neither of whom could be suspected of parsimony, used them in building their palaces. It was a substance in-

* Polybius, l. 7. c. 4. † See Peyssonnel's Travels.
‡ Vitruvius, l. 2. c. 8. Pliny, l. 35. c. 14.

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sensible of decay ; and, it is asserted, if the walls were erected true to their perpendicular, would, without violence, last for ever.

The hill, on which the citadel stood, appears from the plain to be triangular. It is sandy, and the sides rough. The fortress is abandoned, but has a double wall, as in 1304, fronting the plain, besides out-works, in ruins.† The eminence affords a fine prospect of the country, and in the walls are two or three fragments with inscriptions. Not far from the west end is the celebrated river Pactolus, which rises in the mountain behind, and once flowed through the middle of the market-place of Sardes in its way to the Hermus, bringing down from Tmolus bits of gold. Herodotus observes, that, except this one and the barrow of Alyattes, Lydia was not remarkable for wonders. The treasures of Crœsus and of his ancestors were collected chiefly from the Pactolus ; but in time that source failed.‡ After snow or rain a torrent descends ; but now the stream was very shallow ; the bed sand or gravel, in colour inclining to a reddish yellow.

Beyond the supposed Gerusia, we turned from the road to the left. We passed the miserable village Sart, which stands, with a ruinous mosque, above the river, on a root or spur of the hill of the citadel, and, crossing the Pactolus, pitched our tent in a flowery meadow. Not far from us were booths of the Turcomans, with their cattle feeding. Some of them joined us, and one or two wanted rakí or brandy, but were told we had none. A small gratuity was required for the aga of the village, which was opposite to our tent.

† See a plan and view in Peyssonnel.

‡ Strabo. p. 591. 625.

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After resting a while, we were conducted toward Tmolus, and suddenly struck with the view of a ruin of a temple near us, in a most retired situation, beyond the Pactolus; between the hill of the citadel and the mountain. Five columns are standing, one without the capital; and one with the capital awry to the south. The architrave was of two stones. A piece remains on one column, but moved southward; the other part, with the column, which contributed to its support, has fallen since the year 1699. One capital was then distorted, as was imagined by an earthquake; and over the entrance of the naos, or cell, was a vast stone, which occasioned wonder by what art or power it could be raised. That fair and magnificent portal, as it is styled by the relater,* has since been destroyed; and in the heap lies that most huge and ponderous marble. Part of one of the Antæ is seen about four feet high. The soil has accumulated round the ruin; and the bases, with a moiety of each column, are concealed; except one, which was cleared by Mr. Wood. The number in the front, when entire, was eight. The order is Ionic. The shafts are fluted, and the capitals designed and carved with exquisite taste and skill.

It is impossible to behold, without deep regret, this imperfect remnant of so beautiful and glorious an edifice; which however is, I believe, unnoticed by the ancient authors now extant. Herodotus mentions a temple dedicated to Cybebe, or Cybele, as damaged in the conflagration of Sardes by the Milesians. The same goddess is invoked in Sophocles† as inhabiting by the great Pactolus, abounding in gold. Cræ-

* Chishull's Travels, p. 16. † Philoctetes, v. 390.

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sus, king of Sardes, contributed to the building of the temple at Ephesus, where a similar mass of marble was placed over the entrance by Metagenes; and if this fabric be not coeval, it was perhaps planned and erected by some of the successors of that bold and enterprizing architect.

CHAP. LXXVI.

The road to Ephesus—Of Larissa—The region called Asis—Hypæpa—Birghé—The road from Pergamum to Sardes.

In the preceding chapter we have mentioned an expedition of the Milesians against Sardes. The distance of this city from Ephesus was five hundred and forty stadia, or sixty-seven miles and a half; and the historian, Herodotus, who relates their enterprize, reckons a day's journey one hundred and fifty stadia, or eighteen miles and three quarters. The way to Ephesus was over Tmolus, which is described as a compact mountain, of a moderate extent, having its boundaries in Lydia.

On a summit of Tmolus was a watch-tower erected by the Persians, of which perhaps the ruin is still extant; an Hexedra, or building with six sides or seats, of white marble. From it were beheld the adjacent plains, and in particular that of the Cayster; in which was Larissa, an Ephesian village, once a city; the soil fruitful in vines. There was a temple of Apollo, and Strabo mentions a priest of Jupiter of Larissa as his contemporary, and a man of eminence at Tralles. The site was nearer to Mount Tmolus than to Ephesus, from

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which place it was distant one hundred and eighty stadia, or twenty-two miles and a half. It was thirty stadia, or three miles and three quarters from Nysa, lying above that city; the way to it through Messogis, probably at the gap beyond Nosli Bazar, and by the temple of Mater Isodrome, or *Cybele of the Plain*. This district, in which the Cayster rises, is likely to afford the curious traveller some ruins, with much pleasure and satisfaction. The Cilbianian plain was contiguous with it eastward, and was large, fertile, and well inhabited.

The tract between the mountains Tmolus and Messogis is a portion of the region named Asis, in which was the meadow, mentioned in a preceding chapter. This is celebrated by the ancient poets as the resort of innumerable geese, cranes, and swans. You might hear them, sitting on Tmolus in the spring; or see them feeding in the grass; arriving in vast companies, and settling; or flying away, and making the Cayster and the marsh resound with their noisy clamour.* The marsh is now perhaps dry.

At the foot of Tmolus, descending toward the Caystrian plain was the small town, Hypæpa, where the Persians of Lydia had a temple served by priests called Magi. Pausanias relates,† that he saw there an altar with ashes on it, differing in colour from common ashes; that the priest entered the cell, and heaped dry wood on the altar; that he then put the tiara or sacred fillet round his head, and invoked the deity, chanting from a book, in a barbarous language, unintelligible to the Greeks; when the fuel lighted spontaneously, and a clear flame was produced. The same won-

* Dionysus Περιηγ. v. 833. † P. 176.

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der was also performed at Hierocæsarea in Lydia, at the temple dedicated by king Cyrus to the Persian Diana.*

Hypæpa is now called Pyrge, and corruptly, Birghé. It is probable a fortress with towers (Πυρλοι) was erected there to command the pass of Mount Tmolus, and occasioned the disuse of the old name. Pyrge was one of the places, which suffered from the exactions of the grand duke Roger, general of the Roman armies in 1306. Thither, in 1403, the body of Amir was removed from Ephesus, or Aiasalúck, to be buried in the sepulchre of his ancestors; as in 1422 was that of Mustapha, Atin's grandson, who had been killed in battle by Cineis.† The town has two very handsome mosques.

We shall add here the route to Sardes from the plain of the Caicus and the city Pergamum,‡ which is thus described by Strabo: "On the east is the city Apollonia seated on an eminence; and on the south a ridge of mountains. Passing over this, and going toward Sardes, Thyatira is on the left;

* Tacitus, l. 3. c. 62. On a medal of this place the goddess is represented, with a quiver, the Legend ΠΕΡΣΙΚΗ, or *The Persian;* and on the reverse is an altar, with a fire on it. A very forced explication of this plain Legend is given in the notes on Pliny. l. v. c. 31.

† Modern Univ. History, v. 5. p. 149. 177. The place is here called Pyrga, and fort Pirgion near M. Tmolus. See also p. 187.

‡ In Peutinger's Table.

Pergamum	—
Germe	m. p. 25
Thyatira	33
Sardes	36
Philadelphia	30
Tripolis	34
Hierapolis	12
From Thyatira to Smyrna	56
From Sardes to Hypæpa	20

In the Antonine Itinerary.

Pergamum	—
Germa	m. p. 25
Thyatira	33
Sardes	33
Philadelphia	28
Tripolis	33
Hierapolis	12

Pergamum has been reckoned sixty miles north of Smyrna.

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and on the right, Apollonis, distant three hundred stadia, or thirty seven miles and a half, both from Pergamum and from Sardes. Then follows the plain of the river Hermus and this city."

CHAP. LXXVII.

Chishull's journey to Birghé—To Tyria—To Ephesus—Account of Tyria.

We shall give here an abstract of Chishull's journey, in 1699, from Sardes to Ephesus.

The ascent of Tmolus is made easy by windings or traverses. The mountain is pleasant, and garnished with an infinite variety of plants, shrubs, and trees. Besides a fine prospect of the country, the traveller is amused with impending rocks, perpendicular precipices, and the murmurs of a brook, probably the Pactolus. On the top, which he gained in four hours, was a fruitful vale, between two lofty ridges; with a vein of marble as clear and pellucid as alabastar. It was the latter end of April; but snow remained on the summits, and supplied a rapid current descending into the Pactolus. The air was chilled, and vegetation retarded. The trees, which, with a kindlier aspect, were green and flourishing, had not even budded there. After an hour, he entered a stony track, leading down the southern side of Tmolus. This was steep and dangerous, or tedious with windings; but adorned with bright and shining particles resembling gold dust. In five hours he arrived at Birghé.

On the way to Ephesus, our traveller forded the Cayster,

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after three hours, not far from an ancient bridge of three arches, ranging with the bank, and witnessing, that the stream has changed its channel. He then passed on in a fertile and well-cultivated champaign country, between two high and snowy mountains, Tmolus and Messogis, in a region inexpressibly delightful; with frequent villages; and in seven hours came to Tyria, once, it has been supposed, Tyriæum; a populous city mentioned in Xenophon as by the plain of the Cayster.

From Tyria to Ephesus have been reckoned twenty-five miles. The way is in a long, narrow, and almost deserted vale. He came in seven hours near the end of Gallesus or the *Alemán*, on which is the old castle mentioned in our journey from Smyrna. The Cayster was on his right hand, and there mingled with the Pegaséan lake, which was large and muddy.

The approach to Tyria is by a gentle ascent from the plain. The houses are numerous, with trees and gardens intermixed. It had then about fourteen mosques, one of which was of royal foundation, as the double minarets shewed. The Greeks had two churches. This, when Tamerlane ravaged Antolia in 1402, was one of the principal cities. He marched to it from Aiasalúck, forced the inhabitants to pay a ransom, and there was informed of the state of Smyrna. Tyria was in the interest of Cineis, and helped him to recover Ephesus from sultan Solyman.

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CHAP. LXXVIII.

We cross the Hermus—At Bazocleu—The Gygæan lake—Its history—The cemetery of the Lydian kings—The barrow of Alyattes—Custom of the Greeks—Remarks on the barrow—The difficulty of examining its contents—Of the ancient Lydians.

Before Sardes, on the opposite side of the plain, are many barrows on an eminence, some of which are seen afar off. We were told, that behind them was a lake; and agreed to visit it. We left Sardes in the afternoon, and repassed Pactolus, farther on; the stream foul and dull. In an hour we came to the banks of the Hermus, which was also muddy, but wide and rapid. We forded with the water up to our girths, and then rode among huts of the Turcomans; their large and fierce dogs barking vehemently, and worrying us. The plain now appeared as bounded with mountains. The view westward was terminated by a single, distinct, lofty range, the east end of Mount Sipylus.

We approached near to the high green ridge, on which the barrows are, and going on beyond its eastern extremity, pitched our tent after three hours by a village called Bazocleu. A continual noise or hooting was made to drive away the small birds, which lodged in the corn. We saw them changing their quarters, as soon as molested, in troops. A large dog had followed our men, who fed him, from Sart.

We were on horseback again at seven in the morning, and going north-westward for half an hour, came to the lake,

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which lay behind the ridge, extending westward, and was anciently called Gygæa. It is very large, and abounds in fish, its colour and taste like common pond water, with beds of sedge growing in it. We saw a few swans with cygnets, and many aquatic birds; in particular, one species resembling a gull, flying about in flocks, or lighting on the ground. These were white, but with the whole head black. The air swarmed with gnats.

Some very ancient historians had related, that this lake was made as a receptacle for the floods, which happened when the rivers were swollen. The Lydians asserted it was perennial, or never dry. The name had been changed from Gygæa to Coloe. By it was a temple of Diana, called Coloene, of great sanctity. A story is recorded as current, that on the festivals of the goddess certain baskets danced.* The privilege of an asylum was conferred on it by Alexander.† This probably is the Sardian Diana, mentioned in an inscription copied by Mr. Peyssonnel, and containing a panegyric on her priestess. If the lake be fictitious, the ridge may be regarded as an immense mound raised with the soil.

By Gygæa, which was within forty stadia or five miles of Sardes, is the burying place of the Lydian kings.‡ The barrows are of various sizes, the smaller made perhaps for children of the younger branches of the royal family. Four or five are distinguished by their superior magnitude, and are visible as hills at a great distance. The lake, it is likely, furnished the soil. All of them are covered with green turf; and as many as I observed, in passing among them, retain their conical form without any sinking-in of the top.

* See Strabo, p. 626, 627. † Tacitus Ann. l. 3. c. 63. ‡ Strabo, p. 627.

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One of the barrows on the eminence, near the middle, and toward Sardes, is remarkably conspicuous. This has been described by Herodotus,* as beyond comparison the greatest work in Lydia; inferior only to the works of the Egyptians and Bab lonians. It was the monument of Alyattes, the father of Crœsus; a vast mound of earth heaped on a basement of large stones by th.ee classes of the people; one of which was composed of girls, who were prostitutes. Alyattes died, after a long reign, in the year 562 before the Christian era. Above a century intervened, but the historian relates, that to his time five stones (ὅροι *termini* or *stelæ*) on which letters were engraved, had remained on the top, recording what each class had performed; and from the measurement it had appeared, that the greater portion was done by the girls. Strabo likewise has mentioned it as a huge mound raised on a lofty basement by the multitude of the city. The circumference was six stadia or three quarters of a mile; the height two plethra or two hundred feet;† and the width thirteen plethra.

It was customary among the Greeks to place, on barrows, either the image of some animal, or *stelæ*, commonly round pillars with inscriptions. The famous barrow of the Athenians in the plain of Marathon, described by Pausanias, is

* L. 1. 92.

† In Herodotus, περιοδος σταδια ἑξ και δυο πλεθρα το δε ευρος εσ ι πλεθρα τριακαιδεκα. We have supposed το υψος wanting in the text after και δυο πλεθρα. See Note on the passage.

The pyramid of Chepos, in Egypt, was quadrangular, each side measuring eight plethra, and its height the same. l. 2. c. 124.

The pyramid of Mycerinus, his son, was much smaller, each side measuring three plethra. c. 134.

The pyramid by the Labyrinth was likewise square, each side measuring four plethra, and its height the same. Strabo, p. 811.

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an instance of the latter usage. An ancient monument in Italy by the Appian way, called, without reason, the sepulchre of the Curiatii has the same number of *termini* as remained on the barrow of Alyattes; the basement, which is square, supporting five round pyramids.

The barrow of Alyattes is much taller and handsomer than any I have seen in England or elsewhere. The industry shewn, in carrying earth for its elevation, was probably excited by the pay which Crœsus offered; for it is not likely, that the sepulchres of a regal family, which possessed immense riches, should be raised by public contribution or gratuitous labour. The mould, which has been washed down, conceals the stone-work, which, it seems, was anciently visible. The apparent altitude is diminished, and the bottom rendered wider and less distinct than before. Its measurements, which we were not prepared to take, deserve to be ascertained and compared with those given by Herodotus.

The barrows contain perhaps a considerable treasure. In this it is well secured. Some time and much labour would be consumed in penetrating to the basement, and afterwards it would be difficult to force a passage through the stone-work. Many men must be employed, and in the present state of the country a large guard would be necessary for their protection. A jealousy already prevails among the people, that strangers are in quest of hidden riches. The Turcomans and the neighbouring agas would not suffer the removal of the plunder, if obtained, without molestation. The enterprize is fitter for the basha of the district, or a general of an army, than for a private adventurer. The first, whether successful or otherwise, would probably be preyed on by his master for the attempt.

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The reader, it is likely, will wonder at the great number of girls, which were employed in this work; and will conceive a bad opinion of the morals of the Sardians

The historian relates, it was the custom of the Lydians to permit their daughters to procure their own dowries; deviating in this from the Greek laws, which were established among them. They were an ingenious people, the inventors of gold and silver coin, of wine-taverns, and of several games in general use. The female Lydians were much admired for the elegance of their dress, the beauty of their persons, and their wonderful performance of a grand, choral, circular dance, in honour of Bacchus.*

CHAP. LXXIX.

We re-gain the road to Magnesia—The weather—At Durguthli—To Mount Sipylus—Of the city Sipylus and Sale—To Magnesia—Of Niobe.

AFTER riding an hour by the side of the calm and noble lake, we turned to the south-west, passing by a fountain with an inscription,† to recover the road from Sardes to Magnesia *by Mount Sipylus*. We crossed the ridge, and at eleven again forded the Hermus. The stream was very wide, rapid, and turbid. We entered on the road by three barrows, ranging on the side close by each other. We stopped, after two hours more, near a green barrow, at a neat coffee-hut by

* Dionysius, Περιηγ. v. 840. † Inscript. Ant. p. 30.

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Uran-lui, four hours from Sardes. Our dog, which we had named Sart, here very wisely forsook us, and, as we supposed, returned to the Turcomans, his old masters.

The mountains, when we moved from Bazocleu in the morning, were all clear, except Sipylus, which was enveloped in mist. On the way a shower or two fell, which cooled the air, and occasioned a delicious freshness and fragrancy. Now Sipylus was quite hid; and thunder, with violent rain, proceeded from the thick black clouds, in which it was enwrapped. At half after four, the sun broke out, the clouds brightened, and above them its summit was discernible. Thin fleeces were yet hanging low on the side of the mountain beyond the Hermus.

After dining under a tree by a clear stream we rode briskly on, and arrived in two hours at Durguthli, or Casabar. This is a town of considerable extent, in the plain, with many minarets of mosques rising amid trees. The khan was most exceedingly wretched, and our stay, though for a single night, seemed tedious. The place was a great thoroughfare; and the accounts we received of the malady raging at Smyrna, became at every stage, as we advanced, more terrible as well as more authentic.

Early in the morning we went on toward Mount Sipylus. On our left was an opening into a plain, between that mountain, and the end of Mount Tmolus; and beyond it was a lofty ridge covered with snow. Magnesia, with the river Hermus, is on the north side of Sipylus. There must be the junction of the three plains, the Sardian, that of the Hermus, and the Caystrian; which have been described as below, or to the west of Sardes; as contiguous; and as unrivalled in

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fertility and beauty*. We passed a wide water-course, and a river, and then a stream, after which we came to the extremity of the mountain.

Mount Sipylus was anciently noted for frequent thunder. At Smyrna I had often listened to the rumbling, and marked the remote lightning, which gleamed from that quarter. A city of the same name as the mountain was once the capital of M onia or Lydia. It was recorded, that, in the time of Tantalus, prodigious earthquakes had happened. Then many villages were absorbed, the city Sipylus was subverted, and marshes were changed into lakes. The credibility of this relation was demonstrated, as Strabo remarks, by the dreadful effects of the earthquake under Tiberius, and the overthrow of Magnesia. Where Sipylus had stood was a marsh called Sale. The mountain, terminating on the north-east in a vast naked precipice, has now beneath it a very limpid water, with a small marsh, not far from a sepulchre cut in the rock, and there perhaps was Sale, and the site of Sipylus.

We travelled on at the foot of the mountain, with the plain, of the Hermus, which is very extensive, on our right hand. Our horses were much jaded, and we fatigued, when, after eight hours, we reached Magnesia.

The famous story of the transformation of Niobe the daughter of Tantalus, had for its foundation a phænomenon extant in Mount Sipylus. I shall give an account of this extraordinary curiosity elsewhere. The phantom may be defined, "an effect of a certain portion of light and shade on a part of Sipylus, perceivable at a particular point of view." The traveller, who shall visit Magnesia after this information,

* Strabo, p. 626.

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is requested to observe carefully a steep and remarkable cliff, about a mile from the town; varying its distance, while the sun and shade, which come gradually on, pass over it. I have reason to believe he will see Niobe.

CHAP. LXXX.

History of Magnesia—The present town—The royal mosques —A Mausoléum—The castle—Of the Hyllus.

MAGNESIA surrendered to the Romans, immediately after the decisive battle between Scipio and Antiochus. It was a free city, and shared in the bounty of Tiberius Cæsar, next to Sardes, as second in its sufferings from the earthquake. While the Turks made incursions into the field of Menomen by Smyrna, ruining the country, in 1303, the emperor Michael was shut up in this place; from which he escaped by night. The grand-duke Roger garrisoned it with Italians. The inhabitants rose, and killed some of them; when he beseiged the city, but was forced to retire. In 1313 it ranked among the acquisitions of Sarkhan, afterwards Sultan of Ionia. It was the city chosen for his retreat by Morat or Amurath the second in 1443, when he resigned the empire to his son Mahomet the second, the conqueror of Constantinople.

Soon after our arrival at the khan, we were visited by a Frenchman, a practitioner in physic; who told us that he had attended Mr. Bouverie in a pleurisy at Sanderli.* He

* Attalia.

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conducted us about the town, which retains its ancient name, and is still very extensive; spreading in the plain at the mountain foot, on the acclivity of the castle hill, and up a valley on each side.† It is populous, and has a great trade. The mosques are numerous; and the Greeks have a large and handsome church, and also a monastery.

Among the mosques at Magnesia, two have double minarets or turrets, and are very noble structures, of marble. Each has before it an area with a fountain. We were permitted to enter one of them, which had been lately beautified, leaving our boots or shoes at the door. The inside was as neat as possible; and the floor covered with rich carpets. The ornamental painting pleased by an odd novelty of design, and a lively variety of colour. The dome is lofty and of great dimensions. The lamps, which were innumerable, many pendant from the ceiling, with balls of polished ivory intermixed, must, when lighted, amaze equally by their artful disposition, their splendor, and their multitude. These edifices, a college of dervishes, and a bedlam, were erected and endowed by Sultan Morat and his queen.

Sultan Morat intended to lead a private life at Magnesia. We were shewn the site of his palace, his seraglio, and garden. The remains are some pieces of wall, with several large and stately cypress trees. Near them is a neat mausoléum, with a dome, over the tombs of his wives and children, in number twenty two, of different sizes, disposed in three rows, all plain, and of stone.

The castle hill is exceedingly high, the ascent steep and tiresome, with loose stones in the way. By the track is a

* See a view, Le Brun, p. 37.

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fountain, with a broken inscription,* and earthern pipes, which convey water down to the city. It is a mean fortress, abandoned, and in ruins. The cannon, it is related, were removed to the Sangiac castle in the gulf of Smyrna. The recompense of our toil, in gaining the summit, was an extensive view of a fine verdant plain, divided by the Hermus shining like silver. Chishull relates, that the needle of a sea compass placed on different stones, after pointing various ways, quickly lost its whole virtue. We tried with our pocket compass, but discovered no such magnetic quality in the rock.

The Romans obtained their great victory over Antiochus, between Thyatira and Sardes, on the banks of the Hyllus, then called the Phrygius. His camp had that river in front, and was strongly fortified. Thyatira is distant fourteen or fifteen hours from Magnesia; and the Hyllus descends by it to the Hermus. The junction of the two streams may sometimes be seen from the castle.†

CHAP. LXXXI.

Our embarrassment—Insecurity at Magnesia—The plague at Thyatira—We set out for Smyrna—At Hadgilar—At Sedicui—A Greek.

Our situation was now become very critical and distressing. We were only eight hours north-eastward from Smyrna. We were all sufficiently wearied with wandering,

* Hesselius, n. 24. † Chishull, p. 56.

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and desirous of a respite. Several of our horses were spoiled by the rough service they had undergone; and some of our men were anxious for their families, and uneasy from their long absence. The disabled condition of our little corps, with the general disquietude, and the risque in journeying, as well from the season, as from the distemper, made us ardently wish for a secure retreat, but the difficulty was find one.

The malady, it was believed, had not yet reached Magnesia; but caravans were continually arriving from Smyrna, and it could scarcely fail of being speedily imported. In a khan we were exposed among the foremost to infection. If we obtained admission into the Greek monastery, or a private house, horror and momentary peril would be our portion, as soon as the plague commenced; at a distance from our countrymen, without friends, among people fatally ignorant and negligent; in whom we could place no confidence; and from whom, we, if attacked, could have little room to expect any attention and regard, or indeed even sepulture.

An Italian quack doctor had visited us at the khan, and accompanied us up to the castle. He was just arrived from Akhissar or Thyatira, and assured us, that place was free from contagion. We determined, rather than enter Smyrna without absolute necessity, to extend our tour thither, and to Pergamum; hoping, while we were employed on that side of the Hermus, a favourable alteration might ensue. The janizary and Armenians acquiesced, with some reluctance, and our baggage was loading, when a papas or Greek priest informed one of my companions, that he had recent intelligence from Thyatira, and that the plague was then in the house of the aga. Our whole arrangement was in an instant

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overturned; but we agreed immediately to abandon Magnesia; and, fortunately, as the evil presaged, became manifest there very soon after, and the civil Frenchman, our guide, perished among the first victims.

We are now on the road to Smyrna. After riding for some time at the foot of Mount Sipylus, we entered on a track on the left hand, and crossing the mountain, arrived in the plain of Hadgilar, a village two hours from Smyrna. We met a few travellers, whom we passed with caution, enquiring of them at a distance, and hearing a most dismal tale. Our terror and perplexity increased as we advanced. We were assured many of the villages were infected. We were ignorant whether we could be admitted into the house of the English consul, and whether he had remained at Smyrna. Various methods of giving, and procuring the intelligence, necessary for our mutual security were devised, and proposed, and rejected, as unsafe; when, being exceedingly embarrassed, we turned aside from the road to deliberate, and to repose awhile among the olive-trees.

Seeing the village of Hadgilar near us, I rode on, followed by the Swiss, and meeting a peasant, asked him whether any Frank or European lived there; and was answered, Mr. Lee. I galloped up to his house, and was received with his accustomed cordiality. A prudent regard to the safety of his family forbidding our admission within his gate,* he ordered liquors and plenty of provisions for our refreshment, and with Mr. Maltas his partner, and the Abbé D. Giuseppe Icard, who had been educated at the college De Propaganda at Rome, and had attended us as our instructor in the

* See a view in Le Brun, p. 400.

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Greek and modern languages, accompanied me back to the tree, where joy was already diffused through our tattered and sun-burnt troop.

Mr. Lee had reserved for us the house, which he occupied the summer before at Sedicui. We crossed to it in the evening, leaving Smyrna, where the plague was very furious, on our right hand. The next day we dismissed our men, except the Swiss and an Armenian, our cook, who had a couple of horses, which we kept for some time. The janizary resumed his station at the consul's gate, with the same composure as if unattended with any danger; and the Armenians retired to a spot near another village, where many of their nation were assembled, waiting under tents and sheds until the malady should abate.

We remained five in number, besides a Greek, who had the care of the garden, and had been indulged with the privilege of vending its produce to the villagers; but this occasioning a more free intercourse than was consistent with our safety, a separation followed; after which his place of abode was on some planks, laid over a cistern beneath a shed, at some distance from the house; the furniture a very few utensils, and tools, a coverlet, a garment or two, some dry gourds, and his gun. The danger of infection increasing, he accepted a compensation, and ceased to sell. He was intrusted with a key of the garden door, solely for his own use, but at times admitted other Greeks, and sate drinking with them to a late hour, disturbing us with droning songs, and the melancholy tinklings of a rude lyre.

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CHAP. LXXXII.

Of Sedicui—Manner of watering the gardens—An engine—The mountain—Our house—Provisions—Our market man—Misconduct of a servant—Our manner of living—The tettix—The weather—An earthquake.

SEDICUI is a small village with a mosque and a fountain.* It was inhabited by a few Turks and Greeks, and by two Franks, with their families; the count de Hochpied the Dutch consul, and Mr. Fremaux a merchant of that nation. It is seated by a flat plain, on which are scattered fig, almond, and olive trees, with some bushes; the surface then parched, no verdure, neither weeds nor a blade of grass. On the west side are mountains, branches of Corax; and on these the jackalls howled every night, beginning about sunset. We were informed, that an old Turk, with a snow-white beard, had foretold, that Sedicui would not suffer from the plague, for their hunting near it was a favourable prognostic, which in his memory had never failed.

A gentle ascent led from the village to the roots of Mount Corax, through a corn field, in which is a fountain fed by clear rills, carefully conveyed to it along the slopes. Close by is a square reservoir sunk in the ground; from which in the morning and at evening, when the stoppage was removed, a streamlet ran babbling over pebbles down to the village, to water the gardens. We had it in our turn, and the garden

* See a view. Le Brun, p. 29.

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was ingeniously disposed for its reception, a small trench branching out over the whole area, and each bed having its furrows, with the plants standing on their edges. The current enters at a hole in the wall, and the gardener attends and directs it with his spade or hoe; damming across the general communication to turn it into the parterres, and conducting it about until the soil is saturated.*

When it happened that the springs were dry, or the allowance not sufficient, the necessary fluid was raised by a machine, as in the orange-orchards of Scio. It is a large broad wheel furnished with ropes, hanging down and reaching into the water. Each rope has many cylindrical earthen vessels, fastened to it by the handles, with bands of myrtle or of mastic. This apparatus is turned by a small horizontal wheel, with a horse or mule blinded and going round, as in a mill. The jars beneath fill, and arrive, in regular succession, at the top of the wheel, when they empty, and return inverted to be again replenished. The trough, which receives the water, conveys it into a cistern to be distributed, at a proper hour, among the drooping vegetables. A like engine is in use in Persia and in Egypt.†

Above the corn field the mountain rose, brown and arid; the wild sage and plants crumbling when touched. In the side are narrow retired vales worn by torrents, and filled with spontaneous evergreen, thickets of myrtle in blossom, and groves of calo-daphne or oleander, the boughs then laden with flowers of a pale red colour. Amid these a slender current trickled down a rocky precipice, like tears, to invert the poet's simile,‡ from the eyes of sorrow. The slope afford-

* See Homer, Il. φ. † See Shaw's Travels. ‡ Homer.

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ed a pleasing view of our little village, and of the country; and from a summit may be seen part of the gulf of Smyrna. I discovered a goat-stand in a dale, on the top, when I was too near to retreat. The savage-looking shepherds called off, and chid their dogs, which were fierce and barked furiously. They were sitting at the mouth of a pen, seizing the ewes, and the she-goats, each by the hind leg, as they pressed forward, to milk them. Some of the flock or herd were often by the fountain below with their keeper, who played on a rude flute, or pipe.

Our house was two stories high; chiefly of wood and plaster, which materials are commonly preferred, not only as cheap, but for security in earthquakes; the joists and nails swaying and yielding as the undulation requires. The lower story was open in the centre. On the right hand was a magazine, or store-room; and opposite to it, an apartment with old fashioned lacquered chairs. Between these our servants slept, on the ground. A door communicated with the offices, which were behind. The ascent to the upper story was by stone stairs, as usual, on the outside. The gallery extended the whole length of the front. It sheltered us from the sun, which darted fiery rays from a cloudless sky; and was agreeable as a place to walk and sleep in. We had three apartments, with wooden lattices to admit the air, while cool; and with shutters to exclude it, when inflamed. That in the centre was small. The end rooms, one of which we reserved for our meals, were large, with their doors opposite. The walls were all white-washed. Our furniture consisted of three or four broken or infirm chairs, a couple of unequal tables, and the utensils, bedding and baggage, with which we had travelled. We lay on boards placed on stools, and moveable.

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We endeavoured by reducing our wants to as small a number as we could, to avoid communicating with Smyrna. Our village supplied us with fowls and eggs, and with flesh, as often as a cow was killed. The garden furnished a variety of articles, particularly a species of fruit called melinzane, and gourds, which are eaten stewed. But wine, candles, and many other requisites could be purchased only in the city; and for these a Turk was to be sent, as seldom as possible, with our provision chests on a horse. He unloaded in the court, received his pay, and left us without touching any person or thing. The chests were then washed with water and vinegar, and the contents exposed in the air, or fumigated as their quality directed. This was done before they were handled or used, with the most minute attention; and, as a check on negligence, generally under our immediate inspection.

The reader perhaps will imagine, that we tempted the Turk, to go on these errands, by the offer of a great reward; but we had no difficulty in procuring a messenger to Smyrna, even when the malady raged most, and appeared inevitable. Our market-man, who likewise served the other Frank families at Sedicui, did not once hesitate. Fear was overcome by a sentiment of duty, and of obedience to his law. He had liberty to avoid the infected city; but, if he entered, might not afterwards refrain. His hire was one piaster, or, about half a crown. The good mussulman persevered, and repeatedly underwent, for this trifling gratuity, such immediate risk, as the wiser European would not once incur, for all the treasures of the grand seignior.

Soon after our arrival at Sedicui, we wanted some articles from our apartments in the consul's house, for which my companions determined to go in person, escorted by a jani-

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zary. It was dusk when they left the village. They arrived at night, and did their business; but one of our servants getting in liquor proved unmanageable, and detained them so long, that in coming back they met some Turks, who had been burying a corpse. The caution of the Franks is offensive to the Mahometans, as implying a distrust of the Supreme Being. The man was embroiled with them, and one striking him with a spade, he drew a pistol, and it was with difficulty a fray was prevented. Besides the danger on the spot, our general safety was deeply interested in his misconduct, which indeed was without excuse.

Our confinement proved sufficiently irksome. We had some books and our papers with us, and full leisure for study or meditation. A very few kind visitants, among whom was Mr. Lee, called on us now and then, and inquired of our welfare, at a distance; condoling with us on the necessity of mutual estrangement, or relating the progress of the malady and its daily havock, which afforded but too much room for strenuous exertions of fortitude and resignation. The brightness and power of the sun, with the extreme heat of the air, made us seldom stir out, unless early in the morning, and in the evening. The languor of noon demanded sleep. The body, though arrayed as thinly and loosely as possible, was covered, during the day, with big drops of sweat, and dissolved, as it were, in a mighty and universal perspiration. Then followed a milder sky, lengthening shadows, and a gradual coolness, grateful and pleasing beyond imagination. Then was the comfortable hour for change of linen, and of apparel, to enjoy the garden, or to wander on the mountain. These privileges of our situation were not inconsiderable in their value, as some of our acquaintance testified, whose lot

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it was to be pent up in the city, tormented by insects, drooping, and dispirited, with nothing to alleviate or divert their melancholy. The castle hill of Smyrna was an object plainly in view, in these our walks, and beheld not without emotion. The plague and death were busy near us, and the intelligence, which we received from the Franks and Greeks, was dreadful to hear. We had personal liberty, but it became more and more necessary to use it with extreme caution, by avoiding the near approach of any whom we chanced to meet, and all intercourse, which could produce danger or suspicion. The sun setting behind the summits of Mount Corax, left the sky serene, and stained with rich and varying tints. A chorus of jackalls ensued; and the cucuvaia or night-hawk flitted in the air

We found Sedicui free from the insects, which had molested us at Smyrna, except a few stray mosquitoes, and some of the small flies, which were very teasing; but the tettix, or cicada, in the day time, is extremely troublesome. It is a brown insect resembling a chafer, with wings much longer than its body, and thin like those of a fly. It sits on the bushes and trees, making with its wings, as is affirmed by Hesiod,* a very loud, ugly, screaking noise. When one begins, others join, and the disagreeable concert becomes universal; then a dead pause ensues; and then, as it were on a signal, it commences again. Dionysius of Syracuse signified his resolution to burn and lay waste the territory of a people, with whom he had a quarrel, when he said, that, *if they refused to comply with his demands, their tettixes should sing on the ground.*

We had excessive heat in the latter end of May, the wind

* Εργ. και Ημερ. βιβλ. β'. v. 202.

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northerly; as also during the harvest in June. From that quarter it blowed fiery as from a furnace; coming over mountains scorched by the sun. We endeavoured to exclude it by closing our shutters and doors, though gasping for breath. The thermometer, which at other times was commonly between eighty-four and eighty-six, then rose at noon to ninety-five. The harvest was presently over. The sheaves were collected in the field, and the grain trodden out by buffaloes. In the morning, the wind was often southerly, before the inbat from the bay reached us. This frequently continued to a late hour, rustling among the trees. We had thunder, with distant lightning, in the beginning of June; and, in the latter end of July, clouds began to appear from the south. The air was repeatedly cooled by showers, which had fallen elsewhere, and it was easy to foretel the approaching rain. This was the season for consuming the dry herbage and undergrowth on the mountains: and we often saw the fire blazing in the wind, and spreading a thick smoke along their sides.

On the eleventh of July we had an earthquake, which agitated the whole house, the beams and joists of the roof crashing over our heads. It happened about seven in the morning, and was preceded by a hollow rumbling noise, which was mistaken by several persons for the report of cannon; the captain basha or Turkish high admiral then waiting with a fleet in the gulf of Smyrna, to receive on board the revenues of the grand seignior. The sound seemed to come from the south-east. The sensation was such as would be felt, I imagine, if the earth were set suddenly afloat. It occasioned a great alarm. Some lesser shocks succeeded, but their centres were remote.

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CHAP. LXXXIII.

Beginning of the plague—Some accidents—Its fury—Its probable cause—How communicated—Not pestilential, or in the air—Uncontrouled—Infatuation of the Turks.

THE beginning of the plague was, as we have related, in the spring. The first sufferers were from the island Musconisi, or from Tino. An uncertain rumour preceded its manifestation. One sickened, then two, or more; until, the instances multiplying, the Franks shut their gates, or prepared to retire into the country. It was no new enemy, and as yet produced no great terror. When we were about to quit Smyrna, three English gentlemen, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Skipwith, and Mr. Wilbraham, arrived from Athens, with Mr. Turnbull, a very worthy physician, who had lived many years at Smyrna, and was highly esteemed there by the Europeans in general. They were visited, and received, and no danger apprehended.

The kindly temperature of the weather gave vigour to the disease, while we were absent, and it was propagated amazingly. The consul then appointed a market-man from among his domestics; and his station was at the gate near the janizary. After about three weeks, he was attacked, carried with his bedding to the hospital, and died the same day. A maid-servant next complained that she had taken cold by sleeping on the terrace. She had a slight fever with the head-ache. Half a paper of James's powder purged and sweated her. The fever returned every afternoon. Another

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half paper vomited her; but neither eating nor sleeping, she grew costive and weak. An Italian, who was physician to the factory, came on the ninth or tenth day from the country, and standing below, ordered the patient to be brought to the stair-head. He observed a vein, under her tongue, black and very turgid; pronounced her disorder to be the plague; and advised sending her to the hospital, where his opinion was confirmed by a Greek. She was then removed to the Roman Catholic hospital, and died after lingering on ten days. The welfare of a large family was rendered suspicious by this alarming incident. We had reason to rejoice both that we did not tarry in Smyrna, and that we had met with our friend at Hadgilar.

The malady did not abate in May, when we took possession of our asylum. Four persons were seized in the family of the Cadi, the deputy chancellor of the French nation died, and a dragoman or interpreter was attacked. Turks, Jews, Greeks, Armenians, and the like, perished without number. Of the Greeks alone sometimes above a hundred and thirty were buried in a day. It was generally agreed the calamity had not been severer in the memory of man. In July, when the captain pasha arrived to receive the taxes and tribute-money, some hundreds of houses, it was said, were unoccupied or without owners. A fire, which began to rage near the Frank quarter, seemed, amid all this misery, to threaten new affliction, but was fortunately subdued.

The plague might perhaps be truly defined, a disease arising from certain animalcules, probably invisible, which burrow and form their nidus in the human body.* These,

* See an Account of the Nigua. Ulloa's Voyage, v. 1. p. 64.

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whether generated originally in Egypt or elsewhere, subsist always in some places suited to their nature. They are imported almost annually into Smyrna, and this species is commonly destroyed by intense heat. They are least fatal at the beginning and latter end of the season. If they arrive early in the spring, they are weak; but gather strength, multiply, and then perish. The pores of the skin, opened by the weather, readily admit them. One or more tumours, chiefly in the glandular parts, ensue, with a variety of the most afflicting symptoms. If the patient survive suppuration, he is dreadfully infectious; and the calamity is woefully augmented by the consideration that one recovery is no security from future attacks. Seycuse, an Armenian, who had been our cook, and at my request revealed his unsightly scars, perished now; and, as I was assured, it sometimes happens, that in one season an individual is twice a sufferer.

The plague is a disease communicated chiefly, if not solely, by contact. Hence, though it encircle the house, it will not affect the persons within, if all are uniformly discreet and provident, as experience has demonstrated. Tranquillity of mind and freedom from apprehension cannot be expected. They are most disagreeably, and without the minutest care most dangerously circumstanced. Iron, it is observed, and the like substances, which are of a close hard texture, do not retain, or are not susceptible of the contagion. In bodies soft or porous, and especially in paper, it lurks often undiscovered but by its seizing some victim. The preservatives are fumigation, and washing with water or vinegar. In particular a letter is taken up with a pair of tongs, and in a manner singed before it can be opened with safety. Domestic animals, which are prone to wander, must be excluded

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or destroyed. A large family will require many articles to be procured from without, and is exposed in proportion to its wants. If in the city, a clandestine intercourse of debauched servants is ever to be feared; if in the country and detached, some untoward accident or trivial, but important inadvertency. Unremitting attention is necessary to avert horror, and suspicion from either situation.

The streets of Smyrna are so narrow and filthy, the houses so crowded; and the concourse of people in spring so great, that during the summer heats distemper could not fail to riot there, if the town were not regularly perflated by the Inbat and land-breezes; but the plague is not the offspring of the atmosphere. It perhaps could not even exist long in a pestilential air. The natives retire to rest about sun-set, and rise with the dawn, when the dead are carried on biers to be interred. The Frank, who has business to transact, goes from the country to his house in the town, in the interim, or returns without fear. Solitude and the sacred night befriend him.

The progress of the plague at Smyrna is utterly uncontrolled. The people, except the Franks, are in general as negligent as ignorant. Their dwellings are crowded, many inhabiting in a small compass; and their chambers are covered with matting or carpets, sofas, and cushions, adapted as well to retain as to receive contagion. Besides this, the Turk deems it a meritorious office to assist in carrying the dead; and, on perceiving the funeral of a Mussulman, hastens to put his shoulder under the bier, on which the corpse lies extended and in its clothes. He perseveres in the pious work, until relieved by one equally mad and well-meaning. Several succeed by turns, and concur to rescue the living plague

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from being interred with the carcase, its prey. This kind of infatuation is not, however, without some utility. It ensures burial, the sick are tended, and the markets supplied.

The plague might be wholly averted from these countries, or at least prevented from spreading, if lazarettoes were erected, and salutary regulations enforced, as in some cities in Europe. Smyrna would be affected as little perhaps as Marseilles, if its police were as well modelled. But this is the wisdom of a sensible and enlightened people. The Turk will not acknowledge the means as efficacious, or will reject them as unlawful. A bigotted predestinarian, he resolves sickness or health, pleasure or pain, with all, even the most trifling incidents of life, into the mighty power and uncontrolable will of the Supreme Being. He views the prudent Frank with insolent disdain, and reproaches him with timidity or irreligion. He triumphs in superior courage and confidence, going out or coming in during the malady with a calm indifference, as at other times; like the brute beast, unconscious of the road, which leads to its security or destruction.

CHAP. LXXXIV.

Duration of the plague—It appears at Sedicui—Its cessation —We return to Smyrna—Prepare to leave Asia.

It is an established opinion among the Greeks, that soon after St. John's day O. S. the fury of the plague decreases, and that the term of its duration does not extend beyond the

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10th or 15th of August. About that time the Frank merchants commonly unlock their gates, drooping trade revives, and a free intercourse is restored. We looked forward, as may be imagined, to that period, with the most earnest desire and impatience.

The villages round Smyrna suffered sooner or later with the city; nor was Sedicui wholly exempted. A Greek, eager to secure the trifling effects of a deceased brother, went to the town, returned and sickened; was carried back and presently expired. A Frenchman, valet to Count de Hochpied, who lived opposite to us, a wall separating our gardens, complained of indisposition in the beginning of July. A swelling appeared, and a poultice applied to it was attended with sharp pain, and raised a fiery bladder. Suspicion was then exchanged for unwelcome certainty. He was removed to Smyrna, and recovered. This family was well regulated: and the man, who had a good character for his care and circumspection, could not account for his contracting the malady, unless it were communicated by a sheathed knife, which in following his master, he had picked up, and instantly on recollection thrown down again. These accidents disturbed our quiet, removed all confidence in our retreat, and made us redouble our vigilance and caution. A fire also happened, which destroyed a house by our garden.

We were happy, when the month of August arrived, in finding the popular remark on the continuance of the plague verified. The city was said to be free from that disease, but a contagious and mortal fever raged, principally among the Greeks. This was attributed to their diet, which in the summer season consists almost wholly of fruits. We engaged a

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number of horses and mules to carry us and our baggage once more to Smyrna; and the 8th of August was fixed for our departure from Sedicui, where we had resided from the 11th of May,

It was striking, as we passed the Turkish cemeteries, on our way into Smyrna, to contemplate the many recent graves of different sizes, exhibiting the uncertain tenure of a frail body at every stage of life; and furnishing melancholy evidence that death had been glutted with as little distinction of age as of condition. Farther on were the half-burned ruins of houses, which had lately menaced a general conflagration. In the Frank street, which had been crowded in the winter; we now met a few persons wearing a pensive look; and the comparative solitude of that quarter added force to the dismal ideas, which intruded on us. All had been involved in public misery and in private distress, but some where wonderfully spared. We were heartily greeted by the fat janizary at the gate. The consul welcomed us again, and soon after we had the satisfaction of seeing our other friends, and Mr. Lee.

It was natural to wish for a speedy removal from a country, in which we had been exposed to so many dangers. We resolved to proceed immediately to Athens. We found on enquiry that we could not draw on Leghorn for money from thence; and that to obviate much future difficulty and solicitude, we must carry specie with us. Mr. Lee accepted our bills on London for £800. at the usual discount. The animosities, which had subsisted between the governors in the district of Cuthaya, and the basha of Gulzel-hissar, had now produced hostilities; and on the north-side of the gulf of

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Smyrna, some great men were seizing cannon, horses, and arms, and preparing to decide their disputes by battle. These troubles would have prevented our making any farther excursions from Smyrna. We hired a boat to sail in ten days; and had reason to rejoice that our long stay on this continent was so near a conclusion.

THE END.

J. F. Dove, Printer, St. John's Square.

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TRAVELS

IN

ASIA MINOR, AND GREECE:

OR,

An Account of a Tour

MADE AT THE

EXPENSE OF THE SOCIETY OF DILETTANTI.

By R. CHANDLER, D.D.
FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE; AND OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

—— Juvat integros accedere fontes,
Atque haurire.——LUCRET.

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C	Lycabettus.
D	Areopagus.
E	Temple of Theseus.
F F F	The Town, with its Walls.
G G	The Acropolis, or Citadel.
H	The Propylea.
a b	The ancient Entrance.
c	The right wing, or Temple of Victory.
d	The left wing.
I	The Parthenon, or great Temple of Minerva.
e	The Mosque.
K	The Erectheum.
f	The Temple of Neptune.
g	The Temple of Minerva Polias.
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L	The Pandroseum.
i	The Cave of Pan, beneath the Temple of Victory.
k	A Fountain.
l	Pelasgicon.
m	Cavern.
M	The Theatre of Bacchus.
n	Cave, and the choragic Monument above the Theatre.
N	The Odeum.
o o	The Ceramicus *within the city*.
p p	Cœle, or *The Hollow*.
O	Pnyx.
P	Gymnasium of Ptolemy.
Q	Prytaneum.
R	A Doric vestibule, or the portal of the new Agora, or Market-place.
S	The Tower of the Winds.
T	The choragic Monument of Lysicrates.
U	Hadrian's Gate.
V	The Temple of Jupiter Olympius.
W	Anchesmus.
q	Ionic Columns.
r	A Church.
X	The Bridge over the Ilissus.
Y	The Stadium.

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s The private Way.
Z The Eleusinium, or Temple of Ceres and Proserpine.
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1 Mosques in the Town.
2 A Mosque, which served as a magazine.
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4 A Column then standing.
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TRAVELS IN GREECE.

CHAP. I.

Our bark—We leave Smyrna—The sails and yards—We put into a creek—The vintage begun—Off Psyra—A storm—The night—We gain a port in Eubœa—Sail by Carystus—In a creek of Attica.

THE bark, engaged for our voyage from Smyrna to Athens, was one belonging to Hydre, a small island, or rather rock, near Scyllæum, a promontory of the Peloponnesus, opposite to Sunium in Attica. It had two masts, with fourteen men. The hire was one hundred piasters; and we agreed to pay a piaster and a half a day, if we did not depart within ten days; and also, if we tarried beyond three days at Sunium or Ægina, at which places we purposed to touch in our way.

Our baggage and provisions were put on board on Tuesday, August 20, 1765. A gentle land-breeze, as usual, sprung up about midnight. We bade adieu to our friends, the English consul, and Mr. Lee, who accompanied us to our boat; which rowed to the Frank scale, or quay, for Europeans. We were hailed by a Turkish officer of the customs, and immediately dismissed. We reached our bark and weighed anchor.

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Our vessel carried two triangular sails, each on a very long yard, thick at bottom, tapering upwards, like a bull-rush, and fastened to the top of the mast, so as to be moveable every way, like a lever on a pole, such as is used for drawing water out of wells. In tacking, the big end, which is always the lower, with the rigging, is shifted over to the opposite side. The sharp end is very often high in the air apeak.

In the morning the inbat met us, and we put for shelter into a small creek on the right hand, near the mouth of the gulf. The boys climbing up the masts with bare feet and holding by two ropes, bestrode the yards, and gathered in the canvas, furling it quite to the extremities. A Venetian ship, which had sailed from Smyrna some days before, and was lying at anchor within the bay, afforded us an instance of the slow progress, and consequently tedious voyages, for which that flag is noted, and ridiculed in the Levant.

Between the mountains near us, by the sea side, was a small green valley, in which were scattered a few mean houses. There the vintage was now begun; the black grapes being spread on the ground in beds, exposed to the sun to dry for raisins; while in another part, the juice was expressed for wine, a man, with feet and legs bare, treading the fruit in a kind of cistern, with a hole or vent near the bottom, and a vessel beneath it to receive the liquor.

When morning approached, the land-breeze re-commenced. The boys mounted the yards, and, as they descended, untied the knots of the sails very expeditiously. Our captain knew every island, rock and cape; steering from promontory to promontory. One of the sailors, his brother, fell overboard; but swimming he was soon taken up. We came between Lesbos and Chios, passed by the north end of the latter, and,

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as Nestor did on his return from Troy, toward Psyra. This little island was reckoned forty stadia, or five miles in circuit;* and fifty stadia, or six miles and a quarter, from Melæna, a promontory of Chios. It lay opposite to the rugged tract called Arvisia, once famous for its nectar. The wind was northerly and strong, and it was apprehended would become contrary; being remarked to set commonly into the gulf of Thessalonica during the day, at this season; and to go back again, as it were, toward morning; in the same manner as the inbat and land-breeze prevail alternately in the gulf of Smyrna. We endeavoured to get under the lee of Psyra, and succeeding, we sailed by a chapel of St. George standing on a head-land, when the captain and crew made their crosses very devoutly. The same ceremony was repeated soon after at one of the Panagia, or Virgin Mary. We then opened the harbour of the town, and were desirous to put in, but the wind would not permit.

The day had been cloudy, and distant flashes of pale lightning in the south, with screaming voices in the air, as was surmised, of some sea-bird flying to land, seemed to portend a blustering and disagreeable night. The captain, who was skilled in the previous signs of foul weather, prepared his bark by taking down the triangular main-sail, and hoisting a latin, or square one, as more manageable. The wind increasing, and the sea running very high, our vessel laboured exceedingly. It was now total darkness, no moon or stars, but the sky expanding terribly on all sides with livid flames, disclosing the bright waves vehemently assailing, and every

* Strabo, p. 645. Cellarius has confounded the two islands, and made the city Chios, instead of Psyra, to be forty stadia in circuit, p. 12.

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moment apparently swelling to overwhelm us. It thundered also, and rained heavily.

The poop of our boat was covered, and would contain three persons lying along, or sitting. It was furnished with arms, and in a niche was a picture of the Panagia, of a saint, and of the crucifixion, on boards, with a lamp burning in a lanthorn. This seemed an eligible retreat from the noise and confusion on the open deck, where all hands were fully employed. The vessel shook, and reeled to and fro excessively; the violence of its motion shifting me from side to side several times, though I strove to preserve my position unaltered. The captain at intervals looked in, and invoked his deities to assuage the wind, and smooth the waves; or, prostrate on his belly, inspected the compass by the glimmering light of the lamp, and gave directions to the man at the helm. The tardy morning, as it were, mocked our impatience, while we continued beating the waves and tossing. At length it dawned, when we found we had been driven from our course; but the gale abated, leaving behind a very turbulent swell.

The following day was consumed in standing to and fro between the island Andros, and a cape now called D'Oro, but anciently Cephareus, the southern promontory of Eubœa toward the Hellespont; once noted for dangerous currents, and the destruction of the Grecian fleet, on its return from Troy. Before midnight we gained a small port beyond it; where we found at day-break a couple of goat-herds, with their flocks, traces of a wall, and of a chapel of the Panagia. On a rocky eminence was the ruin of a pharos erected, we were told by a corsair, for the benefit of signals, and to facilitate his entering in the dark.

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Geræstus, the southern promontory of Eubœa toward Attica, was reckoned ten miles from Andros, and thirty-nine from the island Cea. Between it and Cephareus was a city named Carystus, and near it a quarry, with a temple of *the marble Apollo*, from which they crossed to Alæ of Araphen in Attica. The columns cut there were much esteemed, and celebrated for their beauty. It produced also a stone, the amianthus, which, when combed, was woven into towels. Plutarch relates, that some fibres only, or narrow threads, of this substance were discovered in his time; but that towels made of it, with nets and cawls, used by women for their hair, were then extant, and, when soiled, were thrown into a fire, by which they were rendered white and clean, as by washing. We sailed by the town, which retains its ancient name, in the morning. It stands at some distance from the shore; the houses rising on the bare slope of a rocky hill. The inhabitants have a very bad character. The lofty summits of Oche, the mountain above it, were covered with white clouds.

In the evening we were again forced into a port or creek; but we had now gained the European continent, and were arrived in Attica. We moored to a rock, on which was a ruined chapel of the Panagia. This being Saturday, our mariners, about sun-set, bore thither Labdanum to be used as incense, with coals of fire, and performed their customary devotions.

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CHAP. II.

Set sail—Of Hydre—We pass the island Helene—In the port of Sunium—Of the town—The temple of Minerva Sunias—Hydriote vessels.

Early in the morning we steered with a favourable breeze toward Sunium, a promontory of Attica, fronting the islands called Cyclades and the Ægean Sea; distant three hundred stadia, or thirty-seven miles and a half from the southernmost promontory of Eubœa, named Leuce or *White.* The sun arose burnishing the silver deep, skirted by the Attic and Peloponnesian coasts. We had capes, mountains, and islands in view; and, among the latter, the Hydriotes soon discovered their native rock, which they beheld, though bare and producing nothing, with the same partiality of affection, as if it were adorned with the golden fruits, and perfumed by the aromatic gales of Scio; pointing it out, and expatiating on the liberty they possessed there.

Hydre, or Hydrea, is on the coast of the Peloponnesus, and has been mentioned, as lying in the way from Scyllæum to Hermione.* The inhabitants are maintained wholly by the sea, to which the males are bred from their childhood. They now possessed, as we were told, above a hundred and twenty

* Sailing from Scyllæum to Hermione was Point Bucephala, then the islands Haliusa, Pityusa, and Aristeras; then the cape called Acra, then the island Tricana, then a mountain projecting into the sea, named Buporthmos, before which was the island Aperopia, and near it Hydrea. Pausanias, p. 77.

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boats of various sizes, some better armed for defence, than several English vessels frequenting the Archipelago. They are accounted the best sailors in the Levant, boldly navigating in rough weather, and venturing to sea at night, if in danger of being intercepted by an enemy, or by pirates. They pay to the Grand Seignior two purses yearly, as caratch or tribute-money; which sum, with expenses, fees, and presents, amounting nearly to two more, is assessed, at the rate of three piasters a house. The captain-pasha sends a galeote from Paros with officers, who receive it, and are entertained by a papas or Greek priest at the monastery by the sea-side, below the town. No Turk resides among them, and they enjoy the use of bells to their churches, without control; a privilege on which they enlarge, as if alike pregnant with profit and delight.

We now approached Cape Sunium, which is steep, abrupt, and rocky. On it is the ruin of the temple of Minerva Sunias, overlooking from its lofty situation the subject deep, and visible from afar. We often lost, and recovered again, the view of this beautiful object; sailing on a wide canal, between Attica and Macronisi,† or *Long Island*. This was called anciently Helene, because, it was said, Helen had landed on it, in her way to Lacedæmon, after Troy was taken. It ranges, like Eubœa, before the continent, and belonged to the Athenians; but was of little value, being rough and desert. It was reckoned about sixty stadia, or seven miles and a half long; five miles from Sunium, and as many from Cea, which lies beyond it.

† This island has been mistaken for the Cranaæ of Homer. Vid. Strab. p. 398. Cellar. p. 830.

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The waves, on our arrival near the promontory, broke gently, with a hollow murmur, at the foot of the rock beneath the temple. At the entrance of the shining gulf was a little fleet of Hydriote vessels, eight in number, coming out with white triangular sails. We anchored within the cape in the port of Sunium, near three hours before mid-day; and, landing, ascended to the ruin. Meanwhile our sailors, except two or three who accompanied us, stripped to their drawers to bathe, all of them swimming and diving remarkably well; some running about on the sharp rocks with naked feet, as if void of feeling; and some examining the bottom of the clear water for the echinus or sea-chesnut, a species of shell-fish common on this coast, and now in perfection, the moon being nearly at the full.

Sunium was one of the demi or borough towns of Attica, belonging to the tribe named Attalis. It was fortified by the Athenians in the Peloponnesian war,* as a secure port for vessels with provisions. The site, which has been long deserted, is overrun with bushes of mastic, low cedars, and evergreens. The wall may be traced, running along the brow from near the temple, which it inclosed, down to the port. The masonry was of the species termed Pseudisodomum. The steep precipices and hanging rocks were a sufficient defence toward the mouth of the gulf. Some other fragments of solid wall remain, but nearly level with the ground. At the edge, near the port, the rock is shelving, and resembles the cinder of a coal. There is a round well, and farther off, at the mountain-foot, was a pond, the water fresh, but hard and of a dark colour.

* 4th Olymp. 91. Before Ch. 411.

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The temple of Minerva Sunias was of white marble, and probably erected, in the same happy period, with the great temple of Minerva, called the Parthenon, in the acropolis at Athens, or in the time of Pericles, it having like proportions, though far inferior in magnitude. The order is doric, and it appears to have been a fabric of exquisite beauty. It had six columns in front. Nine columns were standing on the south-west side in the year 1676, and five on the opposite, with two antæ or pilasters at the south end, and part of the pronaos. The number is now twelve, besides two in front and one of the antæ; the other lying in a heap, having been recently thrown down, as we were informed, by the famous Jaffier Bey, then captain of a Turkish galeote, to get at the metal uniting the stones. The ruin of the pronaos is much diminished. The columns next to the sea are scaled and damaged, owing to their aspect. We searched diligently for inscriptions, but without success, except finding on the wall of the temple many modern names, with the following memorial in Greek, cut in rude and barbarous characters, but with some labour: *Onesimus remembered his sister Chreste.* The old name Sunium is disused, and the cape distinguished by its columns, *Capo Colonni.*

The Hydriote fleet, which had sailed out of the gulf when we arrived, returned on the following day, laden with corn from Cea, purchased for a Venetian armed ship, captain Alexander, who was then come to an anchor within the cape. This being a contraband cargo, was to be delivered clandestinely, and we were informed the boats had given to the commander of a Turkish cruiser, which appeared in the offing, the sum of fifteen piasters each for his permission to fulfil

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their contract, without molestation. Sunium was reckoned three hundred and thirty stadia, or forty-one miles and three quarters from the Piræus,* or port of Athens.

CHAP. III.

Of the island Ægina—We sail by the island of Patroclus—Our mariners—We arrive at Ægina—View from M. Panhellenius—Story of Æacus—Temple of Jupiter—We set sail for the city of Ægina.

The gulf included within the two promontories, Sunium and Scyllæum, contains several islands, of which Ægina is the principal. This island was surrounded by Attica, the Megaris or territory of Megara, and the Peloponnesus; each distant about one hundred stadia, or twelve miles and a half. In circumference it was reckoned one hundred and eighty stadia, or twenty-two miles and a half. It was washed, on the east and south, by the Myrtoan and Cretan seas. It is now called Eyina or Egina; the *g* soft and the *i* short. "What occasion is there," exclaims Strabo, "to mention, that this is one of the islands, which have been excessively renowned; since it was the country of Macus; it has enjoyed naval dominion, and has disputed with Athens the prize of superior glory, in the famous battle with the Persian fleet off Salamis."

The distant hills continued hazy; but the wind being fair, we embarked on the second evening after our landing at Su-

* Strabo. In Pliny forty-two miles.

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nium, and setting sail passed very near to a small island called Gaitharonesi "*Asses Island,*" a naked rock, except a few bunches of thyme; not even a shrub growing on it; the clefts inhabited by wild pigeons. It once bore the name of Patroclus, by whom it was fortified with a wall and fosse. He was sent, with some Egyptians triremes, to assist the Athenians against Antigonus, son of Demetrius. Sailing on, we had on our right hand the mountain Laurium, formerly noted for silver mines. The coast of Attica was bare, and of a parched aspect.

We had now sea-room and a prosperous gale. The genius of the Greek nation prevailed, and was displayed in the festivity of our mariners. One of the crew played on the violin, and on the lyre: the latter, an ordinary instrument with three strings, differing from the kitara, which has two and a much longer handle. The captain, though a bulky man, excelled, with two of his boys, in dancing. We had been frequently amused by these adepts. It mattered not whether the vessel was still in port, or rolling, as now, on the waves. They exerted an extraordinary degree of activity, and preserved their footing, for which a very small space on the deck sufficed, with wonderful dexterity. Their common dance, which was performed by one couple, consisted chiefly in advancing and retiring, expanding the arms, snapping the fingers, and changing places; with feats, some ludicrous, and, to our apprehension, indecent.

The sun sat very beautifully, illuminating the mountain-tops, and was succeeded by a bright moon in a blue sky. We had a pleasant breeze, and the land in view sailing, as it were, on a wide river. A smart gale following a short calm, and driving us along at a great rate, in the morning by sun-rise

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we had reached Ægina, and were entering a bay; the mountain Panhellenius, covered with trees, sloping before us, and a temple on its summit, near an hour distant from the shore, appearing as in a wood. The water being shallow, a sailor leaped overboard, carrying a rope to be fastened, as usual, to some stone or crag by the sea-side.

We set out for the temple, which was dedicated to Jupiter Panhellenius, on foot, with a servant and some of the crew bearing our umbrellas and other necessaries. One of the sailors had on a pair of sandals made of goat-skin, the hairy side outward. The ascent was steep, rough, and stony, between bushes of mastic, young cedars, and fir-trees, which scented the air very agreeably. Some tracts were quite bare. On the eminence our toil was rewarded by an extensive view of the Attic and Peloponnesian coasts, the remoter mountains inland, and the summits in the Ægean Sea; the bright surface, which intervened, being studded as it were with islands; many lying round Ægina, toward the continent; and one, called anciently Belbina, stretching out toward the mouth of the gulf. We saw distinctly the acropolis of Athens, seated on a hill near the middle of a plain, and encompassed with mountains, except toward the sea; a portion of its territory, covered with dusky olive-groves, looking black, as if under a dark cloud.

The name Panhellenius was probably given to this mountain from the temple, for which only it was noted. That fabric, as the Æginetans affirmed, was erected by Æacus, the renowned ancestor of the illustrious family of Æacidæ. He was reputed the son of Ægina, the daughter of Asopus by Jupiter, who transported her into this island, then uninhabited, and called Oenone. To omit the fabulous account of its popula-

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tion; in his time Hellas was terribly oppressed by drought; the god raining neither on the country without the isthmus, nor on the Peloponnesus. The delphic oracle was consulted. The Pythia replied, that Jupiter must be rendered propitious by Æacus. The cities entreated him to be their mediator. He sacrificed and prayed to Jupiter Panhellenius, and procured rain. Pausanius relates, that he saw the statues of the persons, deputed to attend him on that emergency, at the entrance of the Æacéum, a quadrangular wall of white stone, by the city, inclosing some ancient olive-trees, and a low altar; and also, that the other Greeks then concurred in assigning that reason for the embassy. On a summit of Mount Sciron in Attica, was a temple of Jupiter, surnamed Aphesius, from his remitting their calamity; and a statue of the Earth,* in a suppliant posture, requesting Jupiter to send her rain, which was in the acropolis at Athens, referred, it is most likely, to the same story.

The temple of Jupiter Panhellenius is of the doric order, and had six columns in front. It has twenty-one of the exterior columns yet standing; with the two in the front of the pronaos and of the posticum; and five of the number, which formed the ranges within the cell. The entablature, except the architrave, is fallen. The stone is of a light brownish colour, much eaten in many places, and by its decay witnessing a very great age. Some of the columns have been injured by boring to their centres for the metal. In several the junction of the parts is so exact, that each seems to consist of one piece. Digging by a column of the portico of the naos, we discovered a fragment of fine sculpture. It was the hind-part

* Pausanias, p. 57. See Bryant's Mythology, p. 414.

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of a greyhound, of white marble, and belonged, it is probable, to the ornaments fixed on the frieze, which has a groove in it, as for their insertion. I searched afterwards for this remnant, but found only a small bit, with some spars; sufficient to shew, that the trunk had been broken and removed. The temple was inclosed by a peribolus or wall, of which traces are extant. We considered this ruin as a very curious article, scarcely to be paralleled in its claim to remote antiquity. The situation on a lonely mountain, at a distance from the sea, has preserved it from total demolition, amid all the changes and accidents of numerous centuries. Since the worship of Jupiter has been abolished, and Æacus forgotten, that has been its principal protection; and will, it is likely, in some degree prolong its duration to ages yet remote.

We continued our journies up the mountain, until our work was done, setting out before sun-rise, and returning to our bark in the evening. The heat of noon, during which we reposed under a tree, or in the shade of the temple, was excessive. A south-easterly wind succeeded, blowing fresh, and murmuring amusively among the pines. On the third day, toward evening, we descended to the shore, embarked hastily, and unmoored; bringing away the carcase of a pig on a wooden spit, half roasted. We were apprehensive lest the wind, which, at that season, commonly sets into the gulf in the day-time, and comes in a contrary direction soon after sun-set, should fail, before we could reach the port of the ancient city. The boys mounted to the sharp ends of the yards, high in air above the masts, undid the knots of the sails, which were furled, and tied them anew with rushes. We were towed out of the bay, and then pulling the ropes, the rushes breaking, fell down, and the canvas spread.

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CHAP. IV.

Shoals and rocks—A phenomenon—We anchor in the mole of Ægina—Of the city—Of the barrow of Phocus—Phreattys—Of Oea—The present town—The island.

We passed round the eastern end of the island, near a pointed rock called Turlo, and sometimes mistaken for a vessel under sail; the city Ægina fronting Libs, or the south west. The coast was mostly abrupt and inaccessible; the land within, mountainous and woody. Our crew was for some time engaged in looking out for one of the lurking shoals, with which it is environed. These, and the single rocks extant above the surface, are so many in number, and their position so dangerous, that the navigation to Ægina was anciently reckoned more difficult than to any other of the islands. The Æginetans, indeed, said they were purposely contrived, and disposed by Æacus to protect their property from piratical robbers, and for a terror to their enemies.

We were now amused by a very striking phenomenon. The sun was setting; and the moon, then risen in the eastern, or opposite portion of the hemisphere, was seen adorned, as it were, with the beams of that glorious luminary, which appeared, probably from the reflection or refraction of the atmosphere, not as usual, but inverted, the sharp end pointing to the horizon, and the ray widening upwards.

The evening was hazy, and the mountain-tops, on the west and north-west, enveloped in clouds; from which proceeded

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lightning, pale and forky, or resembling the expansion of a ball of fire. We were becalmed for a few minutes, but the breeze returned, and we moved pleasantly along; the splendid moon disclosing the solemn hills, and the sea as bright as placid. We now tacked, and, standing to the north-west, came to a barrow near the shore; and then doubling a low point of land, cast anchor, about three hours after sun-set, by a vessel within the mole of the city Ægina.

The maritime genius of the old Æginetans was founded, like that of the present Hydriotes, upon necessity. This too produced among them the invention of silver coinage; their commerce requiring a medium, and their country furnishing only such unimportant articles for exportation, as rendered the venders proverbially contemptible. With this disadvantage did the city Ægina become a rival of its neighbour Athens. Its site, which has been long forsaken, was now naked, except a few wild fig-trees, and some fences made by piling the loose stones. It had produced corn, and was not cleared from the stubble. Instead of the temples mentioned by Pausanius, we had in view thirteen lonely churches, all very mean, as usual; and two doric columns supporting their architrave. These stand by the sea side toward the low cape; and it has been supposed, are a remnant of a temple of Venus, which was situated by the port principally frequented. The theatre, which is recorded as worth seeing, resembled that of the Epidaurians both in size and workmanship. It was not far from the private port; the stadium, which, like that at Priene, was constructed with only one side, being joined to it behind, and each structure mutually sustaining and propping the other. The walls belonging to the ports and arsenal, were of excellent masonry, and may be traced to a considerable extent, above,

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or nearly even with the water. At the entrance of the mole, on the left, is a small chapel of St. Nicholas; and opposite, a square tower with steps before it, detached, from which a bridge was laid across, to be removed on any alarm. This structure, which is mean, was erected by the Venetians while at war with the Turks, in 1693, as appears by an inscription, cut in large characters, on a piece of veined marble fixed in the wall. I copied it as exactly as its height and the powerful reflection of the sun would permit. Some letters remain of a more ancient inscription in Greek.

D×O ΟΔΙ-ΜΟΣ
FRANCISCI MAVROCENI
DVCISVENET &' COMIVSSV
ALOYISIOM OCENICO
C. GVLPHI CVRANTE
ERECTA
A. MDCXCIII.

The barrow, which we saw on the sea-shore, was probably that once by the Æacéum. It was designed, it is related, for Phocus, and its history as follows. Telamon and Peleus, sons of Æacus, challenged their half brother Phocus to contend in the Pentathlum. In throwing the stone, which served as a quoit, Peleus hit Phocus, who was killed; when both of them fled. Afterward, Telamon sent a herald to assert his innocence. Æacus would not suffer him to land, or to apologize, except from the vessel; or, if he chose rather, from a heap cast up in the water. Talemon, entering the private port by night, raised a barrow, as a token, it is likely, of a pious regard for the deceased. He was afterwards condemned as not free from guilt; and sailed away again to Salamis. The barrow in the second century, when seen by Pausanius, was sur-

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rounded with a fence, and had on it a rough stone. The terror of some dreadful judgment to be inflicted from Heaven had preserved it entire and unaltered to his time; and, in a country depopulated and neglected, it may still endure for many ages.

The form of trial instituted on this occasion passed early into Attica; where by the sea-side, without the Piræus, at a place called Phreattys, was a tribunal, at which fugitives, for involuntary murder, were permitted to appear on any new accusation, and to plead from their vessel; the judges sitting on the shore. They were punished, if found guilty; but if acquitted, had liberty to depart, and fulfil the term of their banishment.

The Æginetans preserved two famous statues, named Damia and Auxesia, or Ceres and Prosperine, at Oea, twenty stadia, or two miles and a half from the city. The Athenians demanded the yearly offerings, which the Epidaurians, from whom they were taken, had agreed to make to Minerva Polias and Erectheus; or the images, which they regarded as their property, being formed of their sacred olive, by command of the Delphic oracle. Their dispute is recorded by Herodotus; and Pausanius, in the second century, relates that he saw the goddesses, and sacrificed to them as at Eleusis.

The present town, it may be conjectured, was Oea. It stands on the acclivity of a steep rock; which, perhaps, was preferred to the old site, as less exposed to the ravages of corsairs and other plunderers. It is in the way to the mountain Panhellenius, from which it is separated by a narrow valley, which winds and runs far into the island. It is distant about three quarters of an hour from the sea, where nearest, the track narrow and rough. The houses are mean, in number

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about four hundred, rising on the slope, with flat roofs and terraces of gravel. It is remarkably free from gnats, and other troublesome insects. The wells afford good water, but the air is accounted unhealthy. On a summit above the town are some windmills, and cisterns or reservoirs, with the rubbish of a fortress erected by the Venetians in 1654. The houses, which in 1676 amounted to about fourscore, have been demolished, with the two churches; one of which was for the Latin or Catholic Greeks, and had in it a monument of a Venetian governor, of marble. The Æginetans have a bishop, and so many churches scattered over the island, that, as they affirm, the number equals the days in the year. We had this place in view at the temple of Jupiter, and afterwards I passed two days in it with a Greek of Athens, the governor; no Turk residing there. I then re-visited the ruin, and was near an hour and a half riding to it, though, in a straight line, it is not far off. I was mounted on a low mule, with a guide on foot, the track rough and bad.

The soil of Ægina is, as described by Strabo, very stony, especially the bottoms, and naked, but in some places not unfertile in grain. Besides corn, it produces olives, grapes, and plenty of almonds. Perhaps no island abounds more in doves, pigeons, and partridges. Of the latter, which have red legs, we sprang several covies; and our caraboucheri, or captain, caught one with his hands. It has been related, that the Æginetans annually wage war with the feathered race, carefully collecting or breaking their eggs, to prevent their multiplying, and in consequence a yearly famine. They have no hares, foxes, or wolves. The rivers in summer are all dry. The vaiwode or governor farmed the revenue of the Grand

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Seignior for twelve purses.* About half this sum was repaid yearly by the caratch-money, or poll-tax.

CHAP. V.

We arrive in the Piræus—Of the ports of Athens—Phalerum and Munychia—Remark on Phalerum—Piræus—The town—The long walls—Other fortifications—Their state under the Romans—Present state of Phalerum and Munychia—Of the Piræus—Inscriptions.

The vicinity of Ægina made Pericles style it the eye-sore of the Piræus. It was distant only twenty miles. We sailed in the afternoon with a fair wind, and in the evening anchored in this renowned haven. We were hailed from the custom-house, and the captain went on shore. On his return, we had the satisfaction to hear that the plague had not reached Athens. We intrusted our recommendatory letters to a person departing for the city. Some Greeks, to whom the captain had notified his arrival, came on board early in the morning. The wine circulated briskly, and their meeting was celebrated, as usual among this lively people, with singing, fiddling, and dancing. We left them, and were landed by the custom-house, exceedingly struck with the solemn silence, and solitude of this once crowded emporium.

Athens had three ports near each other, the Piræus, Munychia, and Phalerum. Of these the Piræus is formed by a recess of the shore, which winds, and by a small rocky peninsula

* A purse is 500 piasters.

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spreading toward the sea. A craggy brow, called Munychia, separates it from the Phalerian and Munychian ports, which indent the narrow isthmus, on the opposite or eastern side. It was an ancient tradition, that this whole peninsula had been an island, lying before the coast. The city was not more than twenty stadia, or two miles and a half from the sea by Phalerum; but the distance is perhaps increased. From the port it was thirty-five stadia, or four miles a quarter and a half; and more from Munychia, which is beyond. From the Piræus it was forty stadia, or five miles, and, it is related, the city port was once as far.

Phalerum was said to have been named from Phalerus, a companion of Jason in the Argonautic expedition. Theseus sailed from it for Crete; and Menestheus, his successor, for Troy; and it continued to be the haven of Athens to the time of Themistocles. It is a small port, of a circular form, the entrance narrow, the bottom a clean fine sand, visible through the transparent water. The farm of Aristides and his monument, which was erected at the public expense, were by this port. Munychia is of a different form or oval, and more considerable; the mouth also narrow.

The traveller, accustomed to deep ports and bulky shipping, may view Phalerum with some surprise; but Argo is said to have been carried on the shoulders of the crew; the vessels at the siege of Troy were drawn up on the shore, as a bulwark, before the camp; and the mighty fleet of Xerxes consisted chiefly of light barks and galleys. Phalerum, though a basin, shallow, and not large, may perhaps even now be capable of receiving an armament like that of Menestheus, though it consisted of fifty ships.

The capital port was that called Piræus. The entrance of

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this is narrow, and formed by two rocky points; one belonging to the promontory of Eetion; the other, to that of Alcimus. Within were three stations for shipping; Kantharus, so named from a hero; Aphrodisium, from a temple of Venus; and Zea, the resort of vessels laden with grain. By it was a demos or borough-town of the same name before the time of Themistocles, who recommended the exchanging its triple harbour for the single one of Phalerum, both as more capacious, and as better situated for navigators. The wall was begun by him, when archon, in the second year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad, four hundred and seventy-seven years before Christ; and afterwards he urged the Athenians to complete it, as the importance of the place deserved. This whole fortification was of hewn stone, without cement or other material; except lead and iron, which were used to hold together the exterior ranges or facings. It was so wide that the loaded carts could pass on it in different directions; and it was forty cubits high, which was about half what he had designed. The bones of this great man, when transported from Magnesia by the Mæander, were, with propriety, deposited in the Piræus, near the biggest port, probably Kantharus, by which were the arsenals. "When you are got within the elbow, which projects from the promontory of Alcimus, where the water is smooth, you are near the site of his tomb." It was in shape like an altar or round, and on a large basement.

The Piræus, as Athens flourished, became the common emporium of all Greece. Hippodamus, an architect, celebrated, besides other monuments of his genius, as the inventor of many improvements in house-building, was employed to lay out the ground. Five porticoes, which uniting, formed

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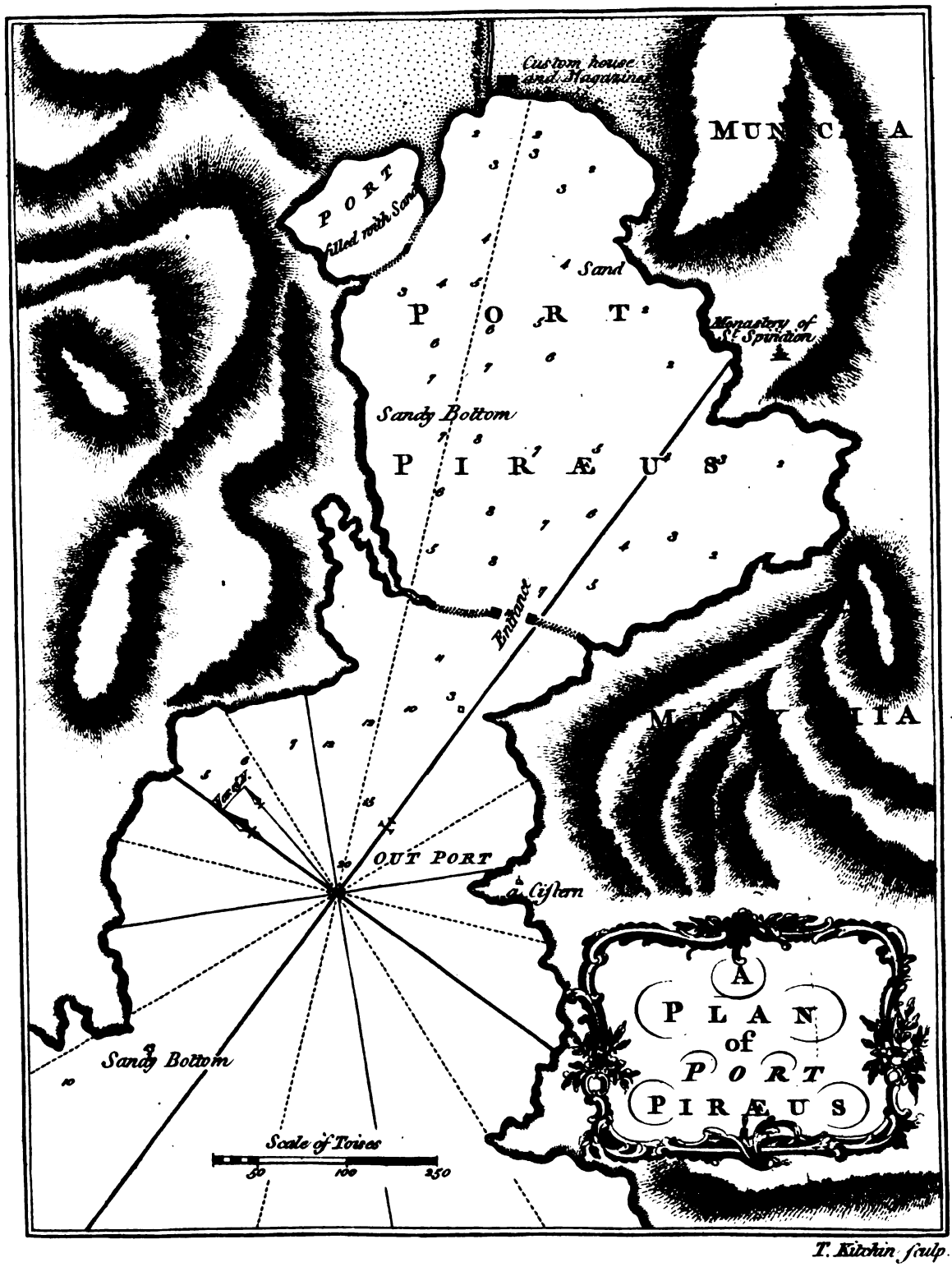

T. Kitchin sculp.

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the *long portico*, were erected by the ports. Here was an agora, or market-place; and, farther from the sea, another called Hippodamia. By the vessels were dwellings for the mariners. A theatre was opened, temples were raised, and the Piræus, which surpassed the city in utility, began to equal it in dignity. The cavities and windings of Munychia, natural and artificial, were filled with houses; and the whole settlement, comprehending Phalerum and the ports of the Piræus, with the arsenals, the store-houses, the famous armoury, of which Philo was the architect, and the sheds for three hundred, and afterwards four hundred triremes, resembled the city of Rhodes, which had been planned by the same Hippodamus. The ports, on the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, were secured with chains. Centinels were stationed, and the Piræus was carefully guarded.

It was the design of Themistocles to annex the Piræus to the city by *long walls*. The side descending to Phalerum was begun. Cimon then furnished money, and made a foundation with chalk and massive stones, where the ground was wet and marshy. Pericles completed it, and erected the opposite wall. The Peloponnesian war impending, he was attentive to the fortifications in general. Callicrates was his architect.

The four hundred tyrants, who in the first year of the ninety-second Olympiad* usurped the government of Athens, knowing that their power depended on the possession of the Piræus, walled about the promontory Eëtion. Soon after the Lacedæmonians insisted on the demolition of *the long walls*, except only ten stadia, or a mile and a quarter, on each

* Before Christ, 410.

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side; and obtained it under the thirty tyrants.† Thrasybulus, the brave patriot, by whom these were expelled, fortified Munychia. Conon resolved to restore the walls of the Piræus and *the long walls;* and Demosthenes, to render the Piræus yet more secure, added a double fosse.

The Piræus was reduced with great difficulty by Scylla, who demolished the walls, and set fire to the armoury and arsenals. In the civil war it was in a defenceless condition. Calenus, lieutenant to Cæsar, seized it, invested Athens, and ravaged the territory. Strabo, who lived under the emperors Augustus and Tiberius, observes, that the many wars had destroyed *the long walls*, with the fortress of Munychia, and had contracted the Piræus into a small settlement by the ports and the temple of Jupiter Saviour. This fabric was then adorned with wonderful pictures, the works of illustrious artists; and on the outside, with statues. In the second century, besides houses for triremes, the temple of Jupiter and Minerva remained, with their images in brass; and a temple of Venus, a portico, and the tomb of Themistocles. By Munychia was then a temple of Diana. By Phalerum was a temple of Ceres, of Minerva, and, at a distance, of Jupiter; with altars of the *unknown gods* and of the heroes.

We found by Phalerum and Munychia a few fragments, with rubbish. Some pieces of columns and a ruined church probably mark the site of one of the temples. In many places the rock, which is naked, has been cut away. On the brow toward Munychia a narrow ridge is left standing, with small niches and grooves cut in it, as by the lake of

† The city had expended not less than 1000 talents on the arsenal. They sold it to be removed for three talents. It was restored by Lycurgus.

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Myûs, perhaps to receive the offerings made to the marine deities on landing; or, before embarking, to render them propitious; and for the insertion of voted tablets, as memorials of distress and of their assistance. One stone is hollowed so as to resemble a centry-box. The walling of the Piræus must have been greatly expedited by these quarries, which are mentioned by Xenophon. At Phalerum the soil appeared shallow, but produces corn. No trees or bushes grow there.

The port of the Piræus has been named Porto Lione, from the marble lion seen in the chart, and also Porto Draco. The lion has been described as a piece of admirable sculpture, ten feet high; and as reposing on its hinder parts. It was pierced, and, as some have conjectured, had belonged to a fountain. Near Athens, in the way to Eleusis, was another, the posture couchant, probably its companion. Both these were removed to Venice by the famous general Morosini,* and are to be seen there, before the arsenal. At the mouth of the port are two ruined piers. A few vessels, mostly small-craft, frequent it. Some low land at the head seems an incroachment on the water. The buildings are a mean custom-house, with a few sheds; and by the shore, on the east side, a warehouse belonging to the French; and a Greek monastery dedicated to St. Spiridion. On the opposite side is a rocky ridge, on which are remnants of the ancient wall, and of a gateway toward Athens. By the water edge are vestiges of building; and going from the custom-house to the city on the right hand, traces of a small theatre in the side of the hill of Munychia.†

* See Museum Venetianum, t. 2.

† It is mentioned by Thucydides, Xenophon, and the orator Lysias. *Meursii Piræus*, p. 1940.

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One of the marbles, which we brought from Athens, relates to the sale of this theatre; containing a decree for crowning with olive a person, who had procured an advance in the price; and also for crowning the buyers, four in number. On another marble, the honour of a front seat in the theatre, with an olive crown and several immunities and privileges, is conferred on one Callidamus; and it is enacted, that the crown be proclaimed by the herald in the full assembly, to demonstrate that the Piræensians had a proper regard for men of merit. This inscription is not more remarkable for its antiquity, which is very great, than for its fine preservation, being as fair as when first reposited in the temple of Vesta. A third contained the conditions, on which the Piræensians leased out the sea-shore, and salt-marshes, the Theséum and other sacred portions. It is dated in the archonship of Archippus, about three hundred and eighteen years before Christ.

CHAP. VI.

We set out for Athens—Two roads described by Pausanius—The barrow of Euripides—The public cisterns—M. Lycabettus—We arrive at the French convent—Reception at Athens.

After viewing the monastery of St. Spiridion and the ports, we returned to the custom-house, and waited to hear from Athens, not without some impatience. We saw the acropolis or citadel, with the great temple of Minerva, from the window. An archon, named Ianáchi Isofime, to whom

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we had sent, arrived before noon, attended by a servant, to welcome us; and was followed by a capuchin friar, then residing in the French convent at Athens. We were detained until the sun was on the decline, when we set forward mounted on asses, or on horses laden with our baggage.

Pausanias describes two ways from the ports to Athens. By the road from Phalerum was a temple and statue of Juno, the building half burned, and without a door or roof; remaining, with a temple of Ceres by the port, unrepaired, as a memorial of the enmity of the barbarians under Mardonius. By the entrance of the city was a tomb of the Amazon Antiope. On the other road, which led from the Piræus, were ruins of the walls erected by Conon, with sepulchral monuments; among which, those of Menander and Euripides were the most noted. That of the latter poet was a cenotaph, or mound of earth without his ashes. By the city-gate was a sepulchre of a soldier, who was represented standing near his horse, the sculpture by Praxiteles. The inclosures, which now intervene, may have occasioned some small alteration in the course of the two roads. They were nearly in the same direction, and not far asunder.

After passing the site of the theatre, and the termination of the rocky peninsula, we had on the right hand a level spot covered with stones, where, it is probable, was the remoter agora of the Piræus. Farther on, by the road side, is a clear area within a low mound, formed perhaps by concealed rubbish of the walls of the temple of Juno. We then entered among vineyards and cotton grounds, with groves of olive trees. On one side rises a large barrow, it is likely the cenotaph of Euripides. In a tree was a kind of couch, sheltered with boughs, belonging to a man employed to watch

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there during the vintage. The foul weather we experienced at sea had extended to Attica, where heavy showers had fallen, with terrible thunder nnd lightning, flooding the land and doing much damage. An Albanian peasant was expecting the return of the archon, who was one of the annual magistrates called Epitropi or Procurators, with a present of very fine grapes, on which we regaled; and another, who was retiring with his leather bucket, hanging flaccid at his back, enabled us to get water from a well about mid-way.

Beyond the vineyards are the public cisterns, from which water is dispensed to the gardens and trees below, by direction of the owners, each paying by the hour, the price rising and falling in proportion to the scarcity or abundance. In the front is a weeping willow, by which is inserted a marble with an ancient sepulchral inscription in fair characters. Beyond the cisterns is the mountain once called Lycabettus, lying before the acropolis. It is bare or covered with wild sage and plants, except where the scanty soil will admit the plough. It was formerly in repute for olives. We saw behind the cisterns a marble statue, sedent; as we supposed, of a philosopher. It was sunk in the ground, and the face much injured, but we were told had been discovered, not many years before, entire.

The road, dividing at the cisterns, branches through the plain, which is open and of a barren aspect. The way to the left of Lycabettus, which anciently led to the Piræan gate, now passes on between the solitary temple of Theseus, and the naked hill of the Areopagus, where the town begins. On that side is also a track leading over Lycabettus. We proceeded by the way to the right, on which, at some distance from the cisterns, is an opening in the mountain, and a rocky

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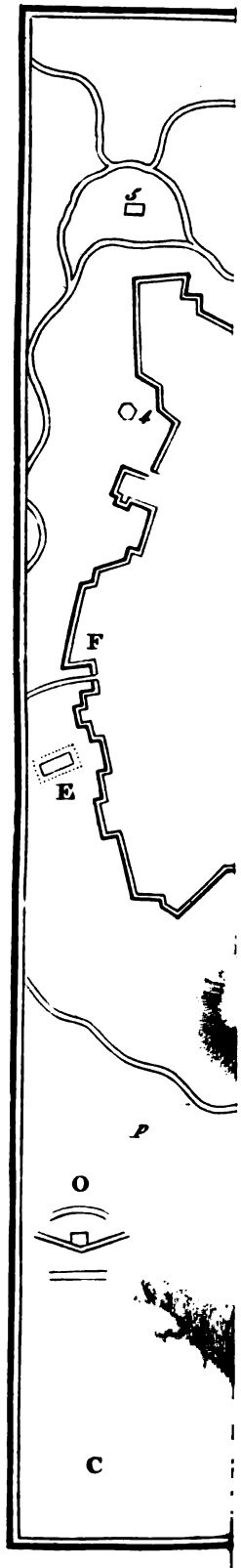

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road worn with wheels, separating the hill of the Muséum from Lycabettus, and once leading to the Melitensian gate, which was before the acropolis.

We kept on in the plain, and crossed the dry bed of the Ilissus. On our left were the door-ways of ancient sepulchres hewn out in the rock; the Muséum, and on it the marble monument of Philopappus; and then the lofty acropolis, beneath which we passed. Before us was a temple standing on the farther bank of the Ilissus; and some tall columns, of vast size, the remains of the temple of Jupiter Olympius. We arrived at the French convent, which is at this extremity of the town, infinitely delighted and awed by the majesty of situation, the solemnity and grandeur of the ruins which had met us.

Early in the morning we were visited by the French consul, Monsieur de Gaspari; and by the archons or principal Greeks in a body. With the latter came an Italian named Lombardi, who had resided several years at Athens, and who was known to one of my companions. This man was well received by the Turks, who regarded him as a Mahometan, and as he affected humility, and poverty, had bestowed on him the appellation of *Dervish*. He offered to serve us, and we found it our interest to employ him. He attended us on our visit of ceremony to Achmet Aga, the chief Turk of Athens; to the vaiwode or governor of the city; to the disdar or officer who commands in the acropolis; to the mufti; the archbishop, and archons; interpreted for us, and adjusted the presents, necessary to be made, for the purchase of permission to examine the antiquities and of protection during our stay; with the smaller gratuities to inferior persons. We were pleased

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with the civil behaviour of the people in general, and enjoyed a tranquillity to which we had long been strangers.

CHAP. VII.

The city of Cecrops—Athens burned by the Persians, &c.—Under the Macedonians—Receives a Roman garrison—Defaced by Sylla—State under the Roman emperors—Governed by a pro-consul—Kindness of Hadrian—The city-wall restored—Besieged and taken—Favoured by Constantine the Great—In danger from the Goths—Sacked by Alaric—A chasm in its history—Under various masters after the twelfth century—Unknown in the sixteenth—Ancient extent of the walls.

It was the boast of the early Athenians, that their origin was from the land which they inhabited, and their antiquity co-equal with the sun. The reputed founder of their city was Cecrops, who uniting a body of the natives,* then living dispersed and in caves, settled on the rock of the acropolis. He was there secure from inundation, a calamity much dreaded after the deluge, which had happened under Ogyges, one hundred and ninety years before. The hill was nearly in the centre of his little territory; rising majestically in the middle of the plain, as if designed by nature for the seat of government. The town and its domain were called Cecropia, but the name of the former was afterwards changed in honour of Minerva. Her dispute with Neptune was said to have happened in this reign, and on the second day of the month called Boedromion. Neptune displayed his power

* Before Troy was taken 355 years.

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by striking the rock with his trident, when salt water arose; and Minerva, by producing the olive tree, which it is related was long peculiar to Attica. This town was watered by a copious fountain, which failed after an earthquake. Beneath it lived artificers and husbandmen, chiefly on the south side, until the time of Theseus; the houses not spreading then in every direction round about, as in subsequent ages. A wandering people, called Pelasgi, were first employed to level the summit of the rock, and to encompass it with a wall, which they completed, except on the south, where the deficiency was supplied by trunks of olive trees, and palisades. The entrance was by nine gates. Afterwards Cimon, son of Miltiades, erected the wall on the south side, with the spoils he had taken in the Persian war.

The tyranny of Pisistratus was celebrated by his getting possession of the acropolis or citadel, from which he could command and overawe the town below. His son Hippias was expelled, and then followed the invasion by Darius, and the battle of Marathon. Thirty-three years after this, Athens was taken, and set on fire by Xerxes; and, in the next year, by his general Mardonius; but, on the victories of Platæ and Salamis, it emerged from ruin to superior lustre and extended dominion. The Peloponnesian war then ensued; the *long walls* were demolished; and it was even proposed to raze the city, and lay waste the plain.

The victory obtained over the Thebans at Mantinea left Athens at leisure to indulge in elegant dissipation. A poet was preferred to a general, and vast sums were expended on plays and public spectacles. At this period Philip of Macedonia was aspiring to the empire of Greece and Asia. Alexander, his son, sacrificed an hecatomb to Minerva at Athens,

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and fortified the Piræus to keep the city in subjection. On his death the Athenians revolted, but were defeated by Antipater, who garrisoned Munychia. They rebelled again, but the garrison and oligarchy were re-instated. Demetrius,* the Phalerean, who was made governor, beautified the city, and they erected to him three hundred and sixty statues, which, on his expulsion, they demolished; except one in the acropolis. Demetrius Poliorcetes withdrew the garrison and restored the democracy, when they deified him, and lodged him in the Opisthodomos, or the back part of the Parthenon, as a guest to be entertained by their Minerva. Afterwards they decreed, that the Piræus, with Munychia, should be at his disposal; and he took the Muséum. They expelled his garrison, and he was persuaded by Craterus, a philosopher, to leave them free. Antigonus Gonates, the next king, maintained a garrison in Athens; but, on the death of his son Demetrius, the people, with the assistance of Aratus, regained their liberty; and the Piræus, Munychia, Salamis, and Sunium, on paying a sum of money.

Philip, son of Demetrius, encamping near the city, destroying and burning the sepulchres and temples in the villages, and laying their territory waste, the Athenians were reduced to solicit protection from the Romans, and to receive a garrison, which remained until the war with Mithridates, king of Pontus, when the tyrant Aristion made them revolt.

Archelaus, the Athenian general, unable to withstand the Roman fury, relinquished the *long walls*, and retreated into

* This Demetrius was the author of the ancient and famous Chronicon inscribed on marble at Paros, and now preserved, but not entire, at Oxford. See *Daniel LXX.* p. 480. *Rome*, 1772

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the Piræus and Munychia. Sylla laid siege to the Piræus, and to the city, in which Aristion commanded. He was informed, that some persons had been overheard talking in the Ceramicus, and blaming Aristion for his neglect of the avenues about the Heptachalcos, where the wall was accessible. Sylla resolved to storm there, and about midnight entered the town, at the gate called Dipylon or the Piræan, having levelled all obstacles in the way between it and the gate of the Piræus. Aristion fled to the acropolis, but was compelled to surrender by the want of water, when he was dragged from the temple of Minerva, and put to death. Sylla burned the Piræus and Munychia, and defaced the city and suburbs, not sparing even the sepulchres.

In the civil war, the Athenians took the side of Pompey. Cæsar, generously refused to punish the city, which afterwards caressed his murderers. They next joined Antony, who gave them Ægina and Cea, with other islands. Augustus was unkind to them, and they revolted, four years before he died. Under Tiberius, the city was declining, but free, and regarded as an ally of the Romans. The high privilege of having a lictor to precede the magistrates was conferred on it by Germanicus; but he was censured as treating with too much condescension a mixture of nations, instead of genuine Athenians, which race was then considered as extinct.

The emperor Vespasian reduced Achaia to a province paying tribute and governed by a pro-consul. Nerva was more propitious to the Athenians; and Pliny, under Trajan his successor, exhorts Maximus to be mindful whither he was sent, to rule genuine Greece, a state composed of free cities. "You will revere the gods and heroes their founders. You will respect their pristine glory, and even their age. You

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will honour them for the famous deeds, which are truly, nay for those which are fabulously recorded of them. Remember it is Athens you approach." This city was now entirely dependent on Rome, and was reduced to sell Delos, and the islands in its possession.

Hadrian, who was at once emperor and an archon of Athens, gave the city laws compiled from Draco, Solon, and the codes of other legislators; and displayed his affection for it by unbounded liberality. Athens reflourished, and its beauty was renewed. Antoninus Pius, who succeeded, and Antoninus the philosopher, were also benefactors.

The barbarians, in the reign of Valerian, besieging Thessalonica, all Greece was terrified, and the Athenians restored their city-wall, which had been dismantled by Sylla, and afterwards neglected.

Under the next emperor, who was the archon Gallienus, Athens was besieged, the archontic office ceased, and the strategus or general who had before acted as overseer of the agora, or market, then became their supreme magistrate. Under Claudius, his successor, the city was taken, but soon recovered.

It is related, that Constantine, when emperor, gloried in the title of general of Athens, and rejoiced exceedingly on obtaining, from this people, the honour of a statue with an inscription, which he acknowledged by a yearly gratuity of many bushels of grain. He conferred on the governor of Attica and Athens the title of *grand duke*, μεγας δουξ. That office was at first annual, but afterwards hereditary. His son Constans bestowed several islands on the city, to supply it with corn.

In the time of Theodosius the First, three hundred and eighty years after Christ, the Goths laid waste Thessaly and

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Epirus; but Theodorus, general of the Achæans, by his prudent conduct, preserved the cities of Greece from pillage, and the inhabitants from being led into captivity. A statue of marble was erected to him at Athens by order of the city; and afterwards one of brass, by command of the emperor, as appears from an inscription in a church, dedicated to a saint of the same name, not far from the French convent. It is on a round pedestal, which supports a flat stone serving for the holy table. Eudocia, the wife of Theodosius the Second, was an Athenian.

The fatal period now approached, and Athens was about to experience a conqueror more savage even than Sylla. This was Alaric, king of the Goths; who, under the emperors Arcadius and Honorius, overran Greece and Italy, sacking, pillaging, and destroying. Then the Peloponnesian towns were overturned, Arcadia and Lacedæmon were laid waste, the two seas by the isthmus were burnished with the flames of Corinth, and the Athenian matrons were dragged in chains by barbarians. The invaluable treasures of antiquity, it is related, were removed; the stately and magnificent structures converted into piles of ruin; and Athens was stripped of every thing splendid or remarkable. Synesius, a writer of that age, compares the city to a victim, of which the body had been consumed, and the hide only remained.

After this event, Athens became an unimportant place, and as obscure as it once had been famous. We read that the cities of Hellas were put into a state of defence by Justinian, who repaired the walls, which at Corinth had been subverted by an earthquake, and at Athens and in Bœotia were impaired by age; and here we take a long farewell of this city. A

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chasm of near seven hundred years ensues in its history, except that about the year 1130, it furnished Roger the First, king of Sicily, with a number of artificers, whom he settled at Palermo, where they introduced the culture of silk, which then passed into Italy. The worms had been brought from India to Constantinople in the reign of Justinian.

Athens, as it were, re-emerges from oblivion in the thirteenth century, under Baldwin, but besieged by a general of Theodorus Lascaris, the Greek emperor. It was taken in 1427 by Sultan Morat. Boniface, marquis of Montserrat, possessed it, with a garrison; after whom it was governed by Delves, of the house of Arragon. On his death, it was seized with Macedonia, Thessaly, Bœotia, Phocis, and the Peloponnesus, by Bajazet; and then, with the island Zante, by the Spaniards of Catalonia in the reign of the Greek emperor Andronicus Palæologus the elder. These were dispossessed by Reinerius Acciaioli, a Florentine; who leaving no legitimate male issue, bequeathed it to the state of Venice. His natural son, Antony, to whom he had given Thebes with Bœotia, expelled the Venetians. He was succeeded in the dukedom by his kinsman Nerius, who was displaced by his own brother named Antony, but recovered the government, when he died. Nerius, leaving only an infant son, was succeeded by his wife. She was ejected by Mahomet, on a complaint from Francus, the son of the second Antony, who confined her at Megara, and made away with her; but, her son accusing him to Mahomet the Second, the Turkish army under Omar advanced, and he surrendered the citadel in 1455; the Latins refusing to succour him, unless the Athenians would embrace their religious tenets, Mahomet, it is related, when he had finished the war with the despot of the Morea four

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years after, surveyed the city and acropolis, with admiration. The janizaries informed him of a conspiracy, and Francus Acciaioli, who remained lord of Bœotia, was put to death. In 1464, the Venetians landed at the Piræus, surprised the city, and carried off their plunder and captives to Eubœa.

It is remarkable that after these events Athens was again in a manner forgotten. So lately as about the middle of the sixteenth century, the city was commonly believed to have been utterly destroyed, and not to exist, except a few huts of poor fishermen. Crusius, a learned and inquisitive German, procured more authentic information from his Greek correspondents residing in Turkey, which he published in 1584, to awaken curiosity, and to promote farther discoveries. One of these letters is from a native of Nauplia, a town near Argos in the Morea. The writer says, that he had been often at Athens, and that it still contained things worthy to be seen, some of which he enumerates, and then subjoins, "but why do I dwell on this place? It is as the skin of an animal, which has been long dead."

The walls of Athens, when the city was in its prosperity, with the Piræus, were one hundred and ninety-five stadia, or twenty-four miles, a quarter, and a half, in circumference; the calculation being made as follows:

The wall encompassing the Piræus with Munychia, sixty stadia, or seven miles and a half.

The *long walls* joining the Piræus to the city, north-side, forty stadia, or five miles; south-side, thirty stadia, or four miles, a quarter, and a half.

The exterior city wall joining the *long walls*, forty-three stadia, or five miles, a quarter, and a half.

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The middle or interior wall, between the *long walls*, seventeen stadia, or two miles and half a quarter.

By this computation, the circuit of the city-wall alone was sixty stadia, or seven miles and a half. The part toward Hymettus and Pentele, the mountains on the east and north-east, was of brick. The plain also was then covered with demi or towns, and with villas richly furnished.

CHAP. VIII.

Of modern Athens—The antiquities—The citadel—Its ancient and present state—Remark.

ATHENS is placed by geographers in fifty-three degrees of longitude. Its latitude was found by Mr. Vernon, an English traveller, to be thirty-eight degrees and five minutes. It is now called "Αθήνη" *Athini*, and is not inconsiderable, either in extent or the number of inhabitants. It enjoys a fine temperature, and a serene sky. The air is clear and wholesome, though not so delicately soft as in Ionia. The town stands beneath the acropolis or citadel, not encompassing the rock, as formerly, but spreading into the plain, chiefly on the west and north-west. Corsairs infesting it, the avenues were secured, and in 1676 the gates were regularly shut after sunset. It is now open again, but several of the gateways remain, and a guard of Turks patroles at midnight. Some masses of brick-work, standing separate, without the town, belonged, perhaps, to the ancient wall, of which other traces also appear. The houses are mostly mean, and straggling;

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many with large areas or courts before them. In the lanes, the high walls on each side, which are commonly white-washed, reflect strongly the heat of the sun. The streets are very irregular; and anciently were neither uniform nor handsome. They have water conveyed in channels from Mount Hymettus, and in the bazar or market-place is a large fountain. The Turks have several mosques and public baths. The Greeks have convents for men and women; with many churches, in which service is regularly performed; and, besides these, they have numerous oratories or chapels, some in ruins or consisting of bare walls, frequented only on the anniversaries of the saints to whom they are dedicated. A portrait of the owner on board is placed in them on that occasion, and removed when the solemnity of the day is over.

Besides the more stable antiquities, of which an account will be given in the sequel, many detached pieces are found in the town, by the fountains, in the streets, the walls, the houses, and churches. Among these are fragments of sculpture; a marble chair or two, which probably belonged to the gymnasia, or theatres; a sun-dial at the catholicon or cathedral, inscribed with the name of the maker; and, at the archiepiscopal house close by, a very curious vessel of marble, used as a cistern to receive water, but once serving, it is likely, as a public standard or measure. Many columns occur; with some maimed statues; and pedestals, several with inscriptions, and almost buried in earth. A custom has prevailed, as at Chios, of fixing in the wall, over the gateways and doors of the houses, carved stones, most of which exhibit the funeral supper. In the courts of the houses lie many round stelæ, or pillars, once placed on the graves of the Athenians; and a great number are still to be seen applied to the same use in

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the Turkish burying-grounds before the acropolis. These generally have concise inscriptions containing the name of the person, and of the town and tribe, to which the deceased belonged. Demetrius, the Phalerean, who endeavoured to restrain sepulchral luxury, enacted, that no person should have more than one; and that the height should not exceed three cubits. Another species, which resembles our modern head-stones, is sometimes adorned with sculpture, and has an epitaph in verse. We saw a few mutilated Hermæ. These were busts on long quadrangular bases, the heads frequently of brass, invented by the Athenians. At first they were made to represent only Hermes or Mercury, and designed as guardians of the sepulchres, in which they were lodged; but afterwards the houses, streets, and porticoes of Athens, were adorned with them, and rendered venerable by a multitude of portraits of illustrious men and women, of heroes and of gods: and, it is related, Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, erected them in the demi or borough-towns, and by the road side, inscribed with moral apophthegms in elegiac verse; thus making them vehicles of instruction.

The acropolis, asty, or citadel, was the city of Cecrops. It is now a fortress, with a thick irregular wall, standing on the brink of precipices, and inclosing a large area, about twice as long as broad. Some portions of the ancient wall may be discovered on the outside, particularly at the two extreme angles; and in many places it is patched with pieces of columns, and with marbles taken from the ruins. A considerable sum had been recently expended on the side next Hymettus, which was finished before we arrived. The scaffolding had been removed to the end toward Pentele, but money was wanting, and the workmen were withdrawn. The garri-

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son consists of a few Turks, who reside there with their families, and are called by the Greeks *Castriani*, or the soldiers of the castle. These hollow nightly from their station above the town, to approve their vigilance. Their houses overlook the city, plain, and gulf, but the situation is as airy as pleasant, and attended with so many inconveniencies, that those who are able, and have the option, prefer living below, when not on duty. The rock is lofty, abrupt and inaccessible, except the front, which is toward the Piræus; and on that quarter is a mountainous ridge, within cannon-shot. It is destitute of water fit for drinking, and supplies are daily carried up in earthern jars, on horses, and asses, from one of the conduits in the town.

The acropolis furnished a very ample field to the ancient virtuoso. It was filled with monuments of Athenian glory, and exhibited an amazing display of beauty, of opulence, and of art; each contending, as it were, for the superiority. It appeared as one entire offering to the deity, surpassing in excellence, and astonishing in richness. Heliodorus, named Periegetes, the guide, had employed on it fifteen books. The curiosities of various kinds, with the pictures, statues, and pieces of sculpture, were so many and so remarkable, as to supply Polemo Periegetes with matter for four volumes; and Strabo affirms, that as many would be required in treating of other portions of Athens and of Attica. In particular, the number of statues was prodigious. Tiberius Nero, who was fond of images, plundered the acropolis, as well as Delphi and Olympia; yet Athens, and each of these places, had not fewer than three thousand remaining in the time of Pliny. Even Pausanius seems here to be distressed by the multiplicity of his subject. But this banquet, as it were, of

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the senses has long been withdrawn; and is now become like the tale of a vision. The spectator views with concern the marble ruins intermixed with mean flat-roofed cottages, and extant amid rubbish the sad memorials of a nobler people, which, however, as visible from the sea, should have introduced modern Athens to more early notice. They who reported it was only a small village, must, it has been surmised, have beheld the acropolis through the wrong end of their telescopes.

When we consider the long series of years, which has elapsed, and the variety of fortune, which Athens has undergone, we may wonder that any portion of the old city has escaped, and that the site still furnishes an ample fund of curious entertainment. Atticus is represented by Cicero as receiving more pleasure from the recollection of the eminent men it had produced, than from the stately edifices and exquisite works of ancient art, with which it then abounded. The traveller need not be so refined to derive satisfaction even now from seeing Athens.

CHAP. IX.

Of Pericles—Of his buildings—Entrance of the acropolis—The propyléa—Story of the architect—The temple of victory, or right wing of the propyléa—The left wing—Present state of the propyléa—Of the temple—Ignorance of the Turks and Greeks—Of the left wing—The propyléa when ruined—Inscription on a pedestal.

It was the fortune of Athens, while flourishing in glory, dominion, and revenue, to produce Pericles, a man as distin-

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guished by the vastness of his idea, as by the correctness of his taste, and as eloquent as splendid. His enemies declaiming against his temples and images, and comparing the city with its gilding and painting to a vain woman hung with jewels, he took occasion to shew, it was wisdom to convert the prosperity of a state, sufficiently prepared for war, into its perpetual ornament by public works, which excited every liberal art, moved every hand, and dispensed plenty to the labourer and artificer, to the mariner and merchant; the whole city being at once employed, maintained and beautified by itself. "Think ye," said he, "it is much I have expended?" Some answered very much. "Be mine then," he replied, "the whole burthen, and mine the honour of inscribing the edifices raised for you." But the multitude refused, and calling out, bade him take from the treasury and spare not.

The architects employed by Pericles were possessed of consummate skill in their profession, and Phidias was his overseer. The artificers in the various branches were emulous to excel the materials by their workmanship. To grandeur of proportion were added inimitable form and grace. The vigour of one administration accomplished what appeared to require the united efforts of many; yet each fabric was as mature in perfection, as if it had been long in finishing. Plutarch affirms, that, in his time, the structures of Pericles alone demonstrated the relations of the ancient power, and wealth of Hellas not to be romantic. In their character was an excellence peculiar and unparalleled. Even then they retained all their original beauty. A certain freshness bloomed upon them, and preserved their faces uninjured; as if they possessed a never-fading spirit, and had a soul insensible to age.

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The remains of some of these edifices, still extant in the acropolis, cannot be beheld without admiration.

The acropolis has now, as formerly, only one entrance, which fronts the Piræus. The ascent is by traverses and rude fortifications, furnished with cannon, but without carriages and neglected. By the second gate is the station of the guard, who sits cross-legged under cover, much at his ease, smoking his pipe, or drinking coffee; with his companions about him in like attitudes. Over this gate-way is an inscription in large characters on a stone turned upside down, and black from the fires made below. It records a present of a pair of gates.

Going farther up, you come to the ruins of the propyléa, an edifice, which graced the entrance into the citadel. This was one of the structures of Pericles, who began it when Euthymenes was archon, four hundred and thirty-five years before Christ. It was completed in five years, at the expense of two thousand and twelve talents. It was of marble, of the doric order, and had five doors to afford an easy passage to the multitudes, which resorted on business, or devotion, to the acropolis.

While this fabric was building, the architect, Menesicles, whose activity equalled his skill, was hurt by a fall, and the physicians despaired of his life; but Minerva, who was propitious to the undertaking, appeared, it was said, to Pericles, and prescribed a remedy, by which he was speedily and easily cured. It was a plant or herb growing round about the acropolis, and called afterwards parthenium.

The right wing* of the propyléa was a temple of victory.

* Pausanias, p. 20. Των δε Προπυλαιων εν δεξια—εν αριστερα οικημα εχον γραφας.—

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They related that Ægeus had stood there, viewing the sea, and anxious for the return of his son Theseus, who was gone to Crete, with the tributary children to be delivered to the Minotaur. The vessel, which carried them, had black sails suiting the occasion of its voyage; and it was agreed, that, if Theseus overcame the enemy, their colour should be changed to white. The neglect of this signal was fatal to Ægeus, who on seeing the sails unaltered, threw himself down headlong from the rock, and perished. The idol was named *Victory without wings;* it was said, because the news of the success of Theseus did not arrive, but with the conqueror. It had a pomegranate in the right hand, and a helmet in the left. As the statue was without pinions, it was hoped the goddess would remain for ever on the spot.

On the left wing of the propyléa, and fronting the temple of Victory, was a building decorated with paintings by Polygnotus, of which an account is given by Pausanias. This edifice, as well as the temple, was of the doric order, the columns fluted, and without bases. Both contributed alike to the uniformity and grandeur of the design; and the whole fabric, when finished, was deemed equally magnificent and ornamental. The interval between Pericles and Pausanias consists of several centuries. The propyléa remained entire in the time of this topographer, and, as will be shewn, continued nearly so to a much later period. It had then a roof of white marble, which was unsurpassed either in the size of

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Wheler, p. 358, and Spon, p. 137, not attending enough to this passage, have mistaken one wing for the other; substituting the right and left of the human body, for the right and left of the propyléa.

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the stones, or in the beauty of their arrangement; and before each wing was an equestrian statue.

The propyléa have ceased to be the entrance of the acropolis. The passage, which was between the columns in the centre, is walled up almost to their capitals, and above is a battery of cannon. The way now winds before the front of the ancient structure, and, turning to the left hand among rubbish and mean walls, you come to the back part, and to the five door-ways. The soil without is risen higher than the top of the two smaller. There, under the vault and cannon, lies a heap of large stones, the ruin of the roof.

The temple of Victory, standing on an abrupt rock, has its back and one side unincumbered with the modern ramparts. The columns in the front being walled up, you enter it by a breach in the side within the propyléa. It was used by the Turks as a magazine for powder, until about the year 1656; when a sudden explosion, occasioned by lightning, carried away the roof, with a house erected on it, belonging to the officer who commanded in the acropolis, whose whole family, except a girl, perished. The women of the Aga continued to inhabit in this quarter, but it is now abandoned and in ruins.

The cell of the temple of Victory, which is of white marble, very thick, and strongly cemented, sufficiently witnesses the great violence it has undergone; the stones in many places being disjointed, as it were, and forced from their original position. Two of these making an acute angle, the exterior edges touching, without a crevice; and the light abroad being much stronger than in the room, which has a modern roof and is dark; the portion in contact becoming pellucid, had illumined the vacant space with a dim colour, resembling that of amber. We were desired to examine this extraordinary

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appearance, which the Greeks regarded as a standing miracle, and which the Turks, who could not confute them, beheld with equal astonishment. We found in the gap some coals, which had been brought on a bit of earthen ware for the purpose of burning incense, as we supposed, and also a piece of wax taper, which probably had been lighted in honour of the saint and author of the wonder; but our Swiss unfortunately carrying his own candle too far in, the smoke blackened the marble, and destroyed the phænomenon.

The building opposite to the temple has served as a foundation for a square lofty tower of ordinary masonry. The columns of the front are walled up, and the entrance is by a low iron gate in the side. It is now used as a place of confinement for delinquents; but in 1676 was a powder magazine. In the wall of a rampart near it are some fragments of exquisite sculpture, representing the Athenians fighting with the Amazons. These belong to the frieze, which was then standing. In the second century, when Pausanias lived, much of the painting was impaired by age, but some remained, and the subjects were chiefly taken from the Trojan story. The traces are since vanished.

The pediment of the temple of Victory, with that of the opposite wing, is described as remaining in 1676; but on each building a square tower had been erected. One of the steps in the front of the propylæa was entire, with the four columns, their entablature and the pediment. The portico, to which the five door-ways belonged, consisted of a large square room, roofed with slabs of marble, which were laid on two great marble beams, and sustained by four beautiful columns. These were Ionic, the proportions of this order best suiting that purpose, as taller than the doric; the reason

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it was likewise preferred in the pronaos of the temple of Victory. The roof of the propyléa, after standing above two thousand years, was probably destroyed, with all the pediments, by the Venetians in 1687, when they battered the castle in front, firing red-hot bullets, and took it, but were compelled to resign it again to the Turks in the following year. The exterior walls, and, in particular, a side of the temple of Victory, retain many marks of their hostilities.

Pausanias was really, or pretended to be, ignorant, to whom the equestrian statues, before the wings of the propyléa, belonged. One of the pedestals, which remains, will supply this deficiency. The whole is immured, except the front; which has been much battered by cannon-shot; and on this, my companions, while busied in measuring and drawing, discovered some Greek letters, high above the ground. After repeated trials, in which I was assisted by a pocket-telescope, I procured the inscription, which may be thus translated; "The people have erected Marcus Agrippa, son of Lucius, thrice consul, the friend of Caius." The third consulate of Marcus Agrippa falls on the year of Rome, seven hundred and twenty six,* when his colleague was the Caius here recorded, Caius Cæsar Octavianus the seventh time consul, who was dignified by the Roman senate, in this memorable year, with the title of Augustus; by which he was distinguished after the 16th of February. The consulate commenced on the calends or 1st of January. It follows, that the pedestal was inscribed between this day, and the 16th of the succeeding month; or, at farthest, before the notification of this signal and recent honour had arrived in Greece; for after-

* Before Christ, 27.

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wards to have omitted the name Augustus, would have been an affront both to Caius, and to the senate. The two friends, it is likely, were joined in the Athenian decree, and as Agrippa graced the approach to the propyléa on the left hand, Caius was on the right. The theatre in the Ceramicus was called for some time *the Agrippéum*, probably as a compliment to this Agrippa. No dog or goat was suffered to enter the propyléa.

CHAP. X.

Of the parthenon—Of the statue of Minerva—Of Phidias—The statue remaining after Julian—When removed—The temple when ruined—Described in 1676*—Present state—The pediments—Other sculptures—Copied by Mr. Pars.*

THE chief ornament of the acropolis was the parthenon, or great temple of Minerva, a most superb and magnificent fabric. The Persians had burned the edifice, which before occupied the site, and was called hecatompedon, from its being a hundred feet square. The zeal of Pericles, and of all the Athenians was exerted in providing a far more ample and glorious residence for their favourite goddess. The architects were Callicrates and Ictinus; and a treatise on the building was written by the latter and Carpion. It was of white marble, of the doric order, the columns fluted and without bases, the number in front eight; and adorned with admirable sculpture. The story of the birth of Minerva was carved in the front pediment; and in the back, her contest with Neptune for the country. The beasts of burthen, which had conveyed up the materials, were regarded as sacred, and

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recompensed with pastures; and one, which had voluntarily headed the train, was maintained during life, without labour, at the public expense.

The statue of Minerva, made for this temple by Phidias, was of ivory, twenty-six cubits, or thirty-nine feet high. It was decked with pure gold to the amount of forty-four talents,* so disposed, by the advice of Pericles, as to be taken off and weighed, if required. The goddess was represented standing, with her vestment reaching to her feet, Her helmet had a sphinx for the crest, and on the sides were griffins. The head of Medusa was on her breast-plate. In one hand she held her spear, and in the other supported an image of Victory, about four cubits high. The battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ was carved on her sandals; and on her shield which lay at her feet, the war of the gods and giants, and the battle of the Athenians and Amazons. By her spear was a serpent, in allusion to the story of Erichthonius; and, on the pedestal, the birth of Pandora. The sphinx, the victory, and serpent, were accounted eminently wonderful. This image was placed in the temple, in the first year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad,† in which the Peloponnesian war began. The gold was stripped off by the tyrant Lachares, when Demetrius Poliorcetes compelled him to fly. The same plunderer plucked down the golden shields in the acropolis, and carried away the golden Victories, with the precious vessels, and ornaments provided for the Panathenæan festival.

It was observed of Phidias, that, as a statuary, he excelled more in forming gods than men; a short encomium contain-

* Forty talents valued, according to Herodotus, at thirteen times the weight in silver will amount to above 120,000l. sterling.

† Before Christ, 430. Pericles survived only two years and a half.

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ing the substance of a panegyric. The Minerva of Athens, with a statue, which he made afterwards, of Jupiter at Olympia, raised him far above competition in ivory. Such an artist deserved to be generously treated, but Phidias had enemies as well as his patron. He had inserted in the shield of Minerva a beautiful figure of Pericles, without his knowledge, fighting with an Amazon, the face partly concealed; a hand with a spear, extended before it, seemingly designed to prevent the likeness from being perceived. Much envy and obloquy followed, when that with his own image was detected. Phidias was represented as an old man and bald, but with a ponderous stone uplifted in his hands; and this figure, cementing, as it were, the whole work, could not be removed without its falling in pieces. He was accused of having embezzled some ivory, by charging more for the scales of the serpent than had been consumed. He fled to Elis, and was killed by the people, to secure their Jupiter from a rival.

Minerva had been too long in possession, and was too firmly established, to be easily expelled from Athens. The partiality of Constantine the Great, it is probable, averted from this city the tide of reformation, and preserved to the tutelary goddess, and its deities, in general, their sacred portions and revenues, their temples and customary rites. The emperor Julian, in a letter to the Athenians, reminds them, that when he was summoned by Constantius, the destroyer of his family, to a court filled with his enemies, he had left them reluctantly, weeping plentifully, as many of them could witness, stretching forth his hands toward the acropolis, and supplicating Minerva to save and protect him; and, he affirms, she did not abandon or give up her servant, as had been ma-

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nifest; but was always his guide, accompanying him with guardian angels, which she had taken from the sun and moon. His beard had been shaven, and the philosophic cloke relinquished at the command of Constantius. Julian was transformed into a courtier and soldier, but he retained his affection for Athens and for Minerva, to whom he sacrificed every morning in his closet. The orator Libanius coincided with his own belief, when he affirmed to him, that none of his exploits had been achieved without the Athenian goddess, and that she had been continually his counsel and co-adjutor. Minerva preserved her station in the acropolis, under his successors Valentinian and Valens.

The extirpation of gentilism at Athens seems to have been accomplished by Alaric and his Goths. Indeed, one historian* relates, that this barbarian, on his irruption into Greece, through the straits of Thermopylæ, hastened to Athens, expecting an easy conquest, as he could cut off the communication with the Piræus, and the city was too large to be defended by the inhabitants; but that, on his approach he beheld Minerva armed on the battlements, and preparing to sally forth; with Achilles, standing before the wall, and terrible, such as he is described by Homer, when he appeared to the Trojans, after the death of Patroclus; that Alaric, dismayed by these spectres, was induced to treat; and being admitted with a small party into the city, was conducted to the bath, entertained by the principal persons, and gratified with valuable presents; and that he then led his army toward the isthmus, leaving Athens and Attica unspoiled. But this is the narrative of a pagan, zealous for the credit of the pro-

* Zosimus, p. 512.

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scribed deities; and it has been proved, that Athens suffered with the other cities of Greece. The potent and revered idol of Minerva then, it is likely, submitted to their common plunderer, who levelled all their images, without distinction, alike regardless whether they were heaven-descended, or the works of Phidias.

The parthenon remained entire for many ages after it was deprived of the goddess. The Christians converted it into a church, and the Mahometans into a mosque. It is mentioned in the letters of Crusius, and miscalled *the pantheon*, and the temple of *the unknown god*.* The Venetians, under Koningsmark, when they besieged the acropolis in 1687, threw a bomb, which demolished the roof, and, setting fire to some powder, did much damage to the fabric. The floor, which is indented, still witnesses the place of its fall. This was the sad forerunner of farther destruction; the Turks breaking the stones, and applying them to the building of a new mosque, which stands within the ruin, or to the repairing of their houses and the walls of the fortress. The vast pile of ponderous materials, which lay ready, is greatly diminished; and the whole structure will gradually be consumed and disappear.

The temple of Minerva in 1676 was, as Wheler and Spon assert, the finest mosque in the world, without comparison. The Greeks had adapted the fabric to their ceremonial by constructing, at one end, a semicircular recess for the holy tables, with a window; for before it was enlightened only by the door, obscurity being preferred under the heathen ritual, except on festivals, when it yielded to splendid illuminations; the

* See also Modern Universal History, v. 5. p. 417.

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reason, it has been surmised, why temples are commonly found simple, and unadorned on the insides. In the wall, beneath the window, were inserted two pieces of the stone called Phengites, a species of marble discovered in Cappadocia, in the time of Nero; and so transparent, that he erected with it a temple to Fortune, which was luminous within, when the door was shut. These pieces were perforated, and the light which entered was tinged with a reddish, or yellowish hue. The picture of the Panagia, or Virgin Mary, in Mosaic, on the ceiling of the recess, remained; with two jasper columns belonging to the screen, which had separated that part from the nave; and within, a canopy supported by four pillars of porphyry, with Corinthian capitals of white marble, under which the table had been placed; and, behind it, beneath the window, a marble chair for the archbishop; and also a pulpit, standing on four small pillars in the middle aisle. The Turks had white-washed the walls, to obliterate the portraits of saints and the other paintings, with which the Greeks decorate their places of worship; and had erected a pulpit on the right hand for their iman or reader. The roof was disposed in square compartments; the stones massive; and some had fallen in. It had been sustained in the pronaos by six columns, but the place of one was then supplied by a large pile of rude masonry; the Turks not having been able to fill up the gap more worthily. The roof of the naos was supported by colonnades ranging with the door, and on each side; consisting of twenty-two pillars below, and of twenty-three above. The odd one was over the entrance, which by that disposition was left wide and unembarrassed. In the portico were suspended a few lamps, to be used in the mosque at the seasons, when the mussulmen assemble before

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day-break, or to be lighted up round the minaret, as is the custom during their Ramazan, or Lent.

It is not easy to conceive a more striking object than the parthenon, though now a mere ruin. The columns within the naos have all been removed, but on the floor may be seen the circles, which directed the workmen in placing them; and, at the farther end, is a groove across it, as for one of the partitions of the cell. The recess, erected by the Christians, is demolished, and from the rubbish of the ceiling the Turkish boys collect bits of the Mosaic, of different colours, which composed the picture. We were told, at Smyrna, that this substance had taken a polish, and been set in buckles. The cell is about half demolished; and in the columns, which surrounded it, is a large gap near the middle. On the walls are some traces of the paintings. Before the portico is a reservoir, sunk in the rock, to supply the Turks with water for the purifications, customary on entering their mosques. In it, on the left hand, is the rubbish of the pile, erected to supply the place of a column; and, on the right, a staircase, which leads out on the architrave, and has a marble or two with inscriptions, but worn so as not to be legible. It belonged to the minaret, which has been destroyed.

The travellers, to whom we are indebted for an account of the mosque, have likewise given a description of the sculpture then remaining in the front. In the middle of the pediment was seen a bearded Jupiter, with a majestic countenance, standing, and naked; the right arm broken. The thunderbolt, it has been supposed, was placed in that hand, and the eagle between his feet. On his right was a figure, it is conjectured, of Victory, clothed to the mid-leg; the head and

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arms gone. This was leading on the horses* of a car, in which Minerva sat, young and unarmed; her head-dress, instead of a helmet, resembling that of a Venus. The generous ardour and lively spirit visible in this pair of celestial steeds, was such as bespoke the hand of a master, bold and delicate, of a Phidias, or Praxiteles. Behind Minerva was a female figure, without a head, sitting, with an infant in her lap; and in this angle of the pediment was the emperor Hadrian, with his arm round Sabina, both reclining, and seeming to regard Minerva with pleasure. On the left side of Jupiter were five or six other trunks to complete the assembly of deities, into which he received her. These figures were all wonderfully carved, and appeared as big as life. Hadrian and his consort, it is likely, were complimented by the Athenians with places among the marble gods in the pediment, as benefactors. Both of them may be considered as intruders on the original company; and possibly their heads were placed on trunks, which before had other owners. They still possess their corner, and are easy to be recognized, though not unimpaired. The rest of the statues are defaced, removed, or fallen. Morosini was ambitious to enrich Venice with the spoils of Athens, and, by an attempt to take down the principal group, hastened their ruin. In the other pediment is a head or two of sea-horses, finely executed, with some mutilated figures; and on the architrave beneath them are marks of the fixtures of votive offerings, perhaps of the golden shields, or of festoons suspended on solemn occasions, when the temple was dressed out to receive the votaries of the goddess.

* These horses are mentioned in a letter to Crusius.

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It is to be regretted that so much admirable sculpture, as is still extant about this fabric, should be all likely to perish, as it were immaturely, from ignorant contempt and brutal violence. Numerous carved stones have disappeared; and many, lying in the ruinous heaps, moved our indignation at the barbarism daily exercised in defacing them. Besides the two pediments, all the metopes were decorated with large figures in alto relievo, of which several are almost entire on the side next Hymettus. These are exceedingly striking, especially when viewed with a due proportion of light and shade, the sun rising behind the mountain. Their subject is the same as was chosen for the sandals of Minerva, or the battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ. On the frieze of the cell was carved, in basso relievo, the solemnity of a sacrifice to Minerva; and of this one hundred and seventy feet are standing, the greater part in good preservation, containing a procession on horseback. On two stones, which have fallen, are oxen led as victims. On another, fourteen feet long, are the virgins called Canephori, which assisted at the rites, bearing the sacred canisters on their heads, and in their hands each a taper; with other figures, one a venerable person with a beard, reading in a large volume, which is partly supported by a boy. This piece, now inserted in the wall of the fortress, is supposed to have ranged in the centre of the back front of the cell. The sacrifice designed to be represented was probably that performed at stated times by the Athenian cavalry; and perhaps the figure last mentioned is the herald praying for the prosperity of the Athenians and Platæensians, as was usual, in commemoration of their united bravery at Marathon. We purchased two fine fragments of the frieze, which we found inserted over door-ways in the town; and

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were presented with a beautiful trunk, which had fallen from the metopes, and lay neglected in the garden of a Turk.

The marquis de Nointell, ambassador from France to the Porte in the year 1672, employed a painter to delineate the frieze; but his sketches, the labour of a couple of months, must have been very imperfect, being made from beneath, without scaffolding, his eyes straining upwards. Mr. Pars devoted a much longer time to this work, which he executed with diligence, fidelity, and courage. His post was generally on the architrave of the colonnade, many feet from the ground, where he was exposed to gusts of wind, and to accidents in passing to and fro. Several of the Turks murmured, and some threatened, because he overlooked their houses; obliging them to confine or remove the women, to prevent their being seen from that exalted station. Besides views and other sculptures, he designed one hundred and ninety-six feet of bass-reliefs in the acropolis.

CHAP. XI.

Of the erecthéum—Temple of Neptune—Temple of Minerva Polias—Story of Pandrosos—Present state of the temples of Neptune and Minerva—Of the Pandroséum—Business of the virgins called Canephori—Images of Minerva—The treasury—Inscriptions.

We proceed now to the cluster of ruins on the north side of the parthenon, containing the erecthéum, and the temple of Pandrosos, daughter of Cecrops.

Neptune and Minerva, once rival deities, were joint and amicable tenants of the erecthéum, in which was an altar *of*

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Oblivion. The building was double, a partition-wall dividing it into two temples, which fronted different ways. One was the temple of Neptune Erectheus, the other of Minerva Polias. The latter was entered by a square portico, connected with a marble screen, which fronts towards the propyléa. The door of the cell was on the left hand, and at the farther end of the passage was a door leading down into the pandroséum, which was contiguous.

Before the temple of Neptune Erectheus was an altar of Jupiter *the Supreme*, on which no living thing was sacrificed; but they offered cakes without wine. Within it was the altar of Neptune and Erectheus; and two, belonging to Vulcan and a hero named Butes, who had transmitted the priesthood to his posterity, who were called Butadæ. On the walls were paintings of this illustrious family, from which the priestess of Minerva Polias was also taken. It was asserted that Neptune had ordained the well of salt water, and the figure of a trident in the rock, to be memorials of his contending for the country. The former, Pausanias remarks, was no great wonder, for other wells, of a similar nature, were found inland; but this, when the south wind blew, afforded the sound of waves.

The temple of Minerva Polias was dedicated by all Attica, and possessed the most ancient statue of the goddess. The demi or towns had other deities, but their zeal for her suffered no diminution. The image, which they placed in the acropolis, then the city, was, in after ages, not only reputed consummately holy, but believed to have fallen down from heaven in the reign of Erichthonius. It was guarded by a large serpent, which was regularly served with offerings of honied cakes for his food. This divine reptile was of great sagacity, and

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attained to an extraordinary age. He wisely withdrew from the temple, when in danger from the Medes; and, it is said, was living in the second century. Before the statue was an owl; and a golden lamp. This continued burning day and night. It was contrived by a curious artist, named Callimachus, and did not require to be replenished with oil oftener than once a year. A brazen palm-tree, reaching to the roof, received its smoke. Aristion had let the holy flame expire, while Sylla besieged him, and was abhorred for his impiety. The original olive-tree, said to have been produced by Minerva, was kept in this temple. When the Medes set fire to the acropolis, it was consumed; but, they asserted, on the following day, was found to have shot up again as much as a cubit. It grew low and crooked, but was esteemed very holy. The priestess of Minerva was not allowed to eat of the new cheese of Attica; and, among her perquisites, was a measure of wheat, and one of barley, for every birth and burial. This temple was again burned when Callias was archon,* twenty-four years after the death of Pericles. Near it was the tomb of Cecrops, and within it Erectheus was buried.

It was related in the mythology of Athens, that Minerva intrusted to Aglauros, Herse, and Pandrosos, a chest; which she strictly enjoined them not to open. It contained Erectheus or Erichthonius, an infant, the offspring of Vulcan and of the earth; guarded by a serpent. Curiosity prevailing, the two elder sisters disobeyed. The goddess was gone to Pallene for a mountain, intending to blockade the entrance of the acropolis. A busy crow met her, on her return, and

* Before Christ, 404. Pericles died of the plague in the 4th Olymp. 87.

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informed her what had passed, when she dropped the mountain, which was afterwards called Lycabettus; and, displeased with the officious tale-bearer, commanded that no crow should ever again visit the acropolis. The guilty sisters were seized with a fienzy, and threw themselves down one of the precipices. Pandrosos was honoured with rites and mysteries. She was joined with Minerva; and, when a heifer was sacrificed to the goddess, it was accompanied with a sheep for Pandrosos. This story is alluded to by Homer, who mentions the temple of Minerva, with the offerings of bulls and young sheep made annually by the Athenians. Crows, as I have often observed, fly about the sides of the rock, without ascending to the height of the top; and Lucretius asserts, that not even the smoking of the altars, when they might expect food, could entice them thither; which he sensibly attributes, not to the dread of Minerva, as the Greek poets sung, but to the nature of the place.

The ruin of the erecthéum is of white marble, the architectural ornaments of very exquisite workmanship, and uncommonly curious. The columns of the front of the temple of Neptune are standing with the architrave; and also the screen and portico of Minerva Polias, with a portion of the cell retaining traces of the partition-wall. The order is Ionic. An edifice revered by ancient Attica, as holy in the highest degree, was in 1676 the dwelling of a Turkish family; and is now deserted and neglected; but many ponderous stones and much rubbish must be removed, before the well and trident would appear. The former, at least, might probably be discovered. The portico is used as a powder-magazine; but we obtained permission to dig, and to examine the outside. The door-way of the vestibule is walled up, and the soil risen

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nearly to the top of the door-way of the Pandroséum. By the portico is a battery commanding the town, from which ascends an amusing hum. The Turks fire from it, to give notice of the commencement of Ramazan, or of their Lent, and of bairam, or the holy-days, and on other public occasions.

The Pandroséum is a small, but very particular building, of which no satisfactory idea can be communicated by description. The entablature is supported by women, called Caryatides. Their story is thus related. The Greeks, victorious in the Persian war, jointly destroyed Carya, a city of the Peloponnesus, which had favoured the common enemy. They cut off the males, and carried into captivity the women, whom they compelled to retain their former dress and ornaments, though in a state of servitude. The architects of those times, to perpetuate the memory of their punishment, represented them, as in this instance, each with a burthen on her head, one hand uplifted to it, and the other hanging down by her side. The images were in number six, all looking toward the parthenon. The four in front, with that next to the propyléa, remain, but mutilated, and their faces besmeared with paint. The soil is risen almost to the top of the basement on which they are placed. This temple was open or latticed between the statues; and in it was also a stunted olive-tree, with an altar of Jupiter Hercéus standing under it. The propyléa are nearly in a line with the space dividing it from the parthenon; which disposition, besides its other effects, occasioned the front and flank, of the latter edifice, to be seen at once by those, who approached it from the entrance of the acropolis.

The deities of the acropolis had a variety of ministers and

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inferior servants, whose dwellings were near their temples. In particular, at a small distance from the temple of Minerva Polias, lived two virgins, called Canephori, who continued some time with the goddess, and, when the season of her festival approached, were employed as follows in the night-time. They placed on their heads something, they knew not what, which they received from the priestess, who was reputed equally ignorant; and descended with it into a subterraneous passage in the city, not far from the temple of *Venus in the gardens*; where they exchanged one mysterious load for another, and returned to the acropolis. They were then dismissed, and two new virgins admitted in their room. Pausanias wondered much at this custom. One of these virgins, after her discharge, was honoured by the council and people with a statue, as appears from an inscription extant in the town. The houses, it may be presumed, were judiciously arranged in streets, forming avenues to the temples; where now are mean cottages, narrow lanes, walls and rubbish. The rock, in many places, is rugged, and bare, or cut into steps, perhaps to receive marble pavement, or the foundation of a building.

Besides the statue of Minerva Polias, which was of olive, and that in the parthenon, the acropolis possessed a third, which was of brass, and so tall that the point of the spear, and the crest of the helmet, were visible from Sunium. It was an offering made with a tenth of the spoils taken at Marathon, and dedicated to the goddess. The artist was Phidias. It remained to the time of Arcadius and Honorius; and Minerva, it was said, appeared to Alaric, as represented in this image. There were likewise some images of her, which escaped the flames, when Xerxes set fire to the acropolis.

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These, in the second century, were entire, but unusually black, and mouldering with age. Many invaluable curiosities were then preserved in the temples.

At the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, Pericles, to animate the Athenians, harangued on the flourishing state of the republic, and on the riches of the acropolis, in money, in gold and silver, in private and public offerings, sacred utensils, the spoils of the Medes, and the like; besides the forty talents, which, if wanted, might be borrowed from Minerva. The treasury was in the Opisthodomos or back part of the parthenon;* where the Athenians afterwards lodged Demetrius Poliorcetes. The precious effects of Minerva and of the other deities were amassed, and registered on marble. The tutelary gods were Jupiter Saviour, and Plutus, who had wings and eyes. The keys of this place, and of the gates of the acropolis, were intrusted with the Prytanes; one of whom, chosen by lot, had them in his custody, but for a night only and a day, when he was called the Epistates or president; and then resigned them to a successor. The precaution of jealousy regulated and limited the command in this manner, lest a tyranny should be established on the possession of the public treasure and of the acropolis.

The marbles, which recorded these riches of the Athenians, have not all perished. We discovered some, which I carefully copied, among the rubbish at the farther end of the parthenon: and purchased one of a Turkish woman living in the acropolis. Another had been conveyed down to the French

* The Opisthodomos is described by the scholiast on Aristophanes as a double wall, with a door, behind the temple of Minerva Polias; but this seems to be a mistake, unless he intended to mark the situation of the posticum of the panthenon, as behind the portico of Minerva Polias.

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convent; and, after we left it, was placed as a step in the staircase of a kitchen erected by the friar. All these inscriptions, which are very ancient, commemorate jewels, victories, and crowns of gold, rings, and a variety of curiosities consecrated by eminent persons; giving some, though an inadequate, idea of the nature and quality of the treasure. Another marble, which has been engraved at the expense of the society of *Dilettanti*, was discovered at a house not far from the temple of Minerva Polias, placed, with the inscribed face exposed, in the stairs. The owner, who was branded for some unfair dealing with the appellative *Jefût*, or *the Jew*, prefixed to his name, seeing me bestow so much labour in taking a copy, became fearful of parting with the original under its value. When the bargain was at length concluded, we obtained the connivance of the Disdar, his brother, under an injunction of privacy, as otherwise the removal of the stone might endanger his head, it being the property of the Grand Seignior. Mustapha delivered a ring, which he commonly wore, to be shewn to a female black slave, who was left in the house alone, as a token; and our Swiss, with assistants and two horses, one reputed the strongest in Athens, arrived at the hour appointed, and brought down the two marbles, for which he was sent, unobserved; the Turks being at their devotions in the mosque, except the guard at the gate, who was in the secret. The large slab was afterwards rendered more portable by a mason. We saw many other inscribed marbles, besides these; some fixed in the walls, or in the pavement of the portico of the mosque; some in the floors and stairs of the houses; or lying in the courts, and among rubbish; all which we were permitted to copy; the Turks even prying into cor-

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ners, and discovering several, which they had often passed before without notice.

CHAP. XII.

Front of the hill of the acropolis—The cave of Apollo and Pan—A fountain and statue—The pelasgicon and long rocks—An inscription—The theatre of Bacchus—The Athenians fond of gladiators—A grotto and choragic monument—The odeum of Pericles and Atticus Herodes.

The rock of the acropolis spreads in front, sloping down from before the propylæa and out-works; and is covered with Turkish sepulchres and grave stones, among which stands a small mosque. At the foot is a deep narrow vale, with a road leading through, between the hill and Lycabettus or the mountain, which lies before it. On one side, the burying grounds are bounded by a bare craggy rock, with a track passing over it toward the temple of Theseus. We shall leave this, which was the hill of the areopagus, on the left hand, and descend by the way most frequented; intending to survey the outside of the acropolis, keeping it on the right, until we have completed the circuit.

And first, below the right wing of the propylæa, or the temple of Victory, is a cave, once sacred to Apollo and Pan. It appears to have been adorned with votive tablets; and before it are some masses of brick-wall, remnants of a church, founded, it is probable, on the removal of their altars, to insult them, and to prevent their votaries from cherishing a superstitious veneration of the spot. Apollo, one of its own-

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ers, deserved, instead of worship, to have been tried and condemned for a rape, which, it was believed he committed in this cave on Creusa, daughter of Erectheus, who exposed in it afterwards the child, Ion, from whom the Ionians of Europe and Asia were named. As to Pan, it is related, that on the landing of the Medes at Marathon, Phidippides, being sent to summon the Lacedæmonians, was met by him in Arcadia, when he declared an affection for the Athenians, and promised to be their ally. A temple, on Mount Parthenius near Tegea, remaining in the second century, was erected, they affirmed, on the very place of the interview. He was believed to have attended at Marathon, and to have contributed largely to the victory, by striking the enemy with the species of terror from him called panic. Miltiades rewarded him with a statue, and on the pedestal was an inscription, which is preserved among the epigrams ascribed to Simonides. Moreover, he was inserted in the catalogue of Athenian divinities. The goat-footed god quitted his habitation on the mountain, and, according to Lucian, settled at Athens, living in the cave under the acropolis, a little beneath the pelasgic wall; where the people still continued to assemble, two or three times a year, to sacrifice a he-goat to him, to feast and be merry.

By the road-side, before you come to the town, is a fountain, in the wall, on the left hand, supplied probably by the same spring as the well once in the temple of Neptune; for the water descends from the acropolis, and is not fit for drinking. Farther on is a statue of Isis inserted in the wall on the right hand; a ruined church; and the gate-way of the outwork next the town. We shall turn up on the right, and keep in the out-skirt, on the side of the hill.

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The Athenians permitted the pelasgi, who fortified the acropolis, to dwell beneath, and bestowed on them a portion of land to cultivate, as a reward for their labour. Afterwards, they accused them of a conspiracy, and of way-laying their sons and daughters, who went for water to the fountain called Enneacrunus; drove them out of Attica, and execrated the spot, on which they had lived, making it unlawful to dig, or sow, or build there; the transgressors to be apprehended, carried before the archon, and fined. It was the advice of the Delphic oracle, that the pelasgicon should be kept rough and naked; but, on the invasion by the Peloponnesians, the people flocking into the city, that spot,* with the temples, except a few which could not be forced open, and the towers of the *long walls*, received inhabitants. The pelasgicon probably comprehended the acclivity, or vacant space, on this side above the houses, which now produces grain; and perhaps it was forbidden to be occupied for the security of the fortress, which on that quarter was most liable to be surprised by treachery, or carried by assault. Some large single rocks, which lie there, and have rolled down from above, disparted by their own weight, or the violence of earthquakes, are, it is likely, those called anciently the *long rocks*, and mentioned as near the cave of Apollo and Pan.

The hill of the acropolis is more abrupt and perpendicular, as well as narrower, at the extremity, or end opposite to the propyléa. There, beneath the wall, is a cavern, the roosting place of crows and daws. A long scaffold was standing against the outside of the fortress above, and many large stones had fallen down. One was inscribed and contained a

* The pelasgicon is mistaken for a temple by the interpreter of Thucydides, l. 2.

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decree of the tribe named Pandionis. In this record, Nicias is praised and honoured with a crown, because he had obtained a victory with a chorus of boys at the Dionysia, or festival of Bacchus, and with one of men at the Thargelia, or festival of Apollo; and it is ordered, that if any other person had conquered, since the archonship of Euclid, either with boys or men, at the festivals specified, his name should likewise be engraved; and that the subsequent curators should add the names of such as proved victorious, while they were in office. Religion furnished Athens with a great variety of spectacles and amusements. The festivals were celebrated with gymnic exercises, music, and plays. The public sometimes defrayed the expense of the choruses, but that burthen was commonly laid upon rich citizens, who had attained to the age of forty years. Rewards were proposed for superior excellence, and the victory was eagerly desired. The glory of individuals reflected lustre on the community, to which they belonged; and the tribes were emulous to surpass each other. It was a splendid contention, the parties vying in the display of spirit and generosity. The conquerors were distinguished and applauded, and their names registered on marble. The archonship of Euclid coincides with the second year of the ninety-fourth Olympiad,* and was an æra in the chronology of Athens.

We proceed now to the side of the acropolis, which is toward Mount Hymettus; leaving the town, which before extended beneath on our left into the plain. The hill, near this end, is indented with the site of the theatre of Bacchus, by which is a solitary church or two. This was a very capa-

* Before Christ, 401.

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cious edifice, near the most ancient temple of Bacchus, and adorned with images of the tragic and comic poets. Some stone-work remains at the two extremities, but the area is ploughed, and produces grain. The Athenians invented both the drama and the theatre, the latter originally a temporary structure of wood; but, while a play of Æschylus was acting, the scaffolds fell; and it was then resolved to provide a solid and durable fabric. The slope of the hill, on which perhaps the spectators had been accustomed to assemble, was chosen for the building; and the seats disposed in rows rising one above another, each resting on the rock as its foundation.

While Athens continued independent, the stage was enobled by the glorious produce of Attic genius; by the solemn chorus; by a Sophocles, and a Menander. When Rome had prevailed, it was degraded and prostituted to the savage combats of gladiators; and, in the time of Trajan, the Athenians exceeded even the Corinthians in their relish of that cruel pastime. These assembled without their city, in a torrent bed, capable of containing the multitude, and of no account; where is is said no one would even bury a free person; but the Athenians hired, and armed miscreants of all denominations, whom they encouraged to fight in the theatre sacred to Bacchus; so that some, it often happened, were slain in the very chairs belonging to the hierophant and priests. Appollonius Tyanæus, when at Athens, was invited to the theatre; but he refused to enter a place so polluted with human gore; and affirmed in a letter, that the Athenians, unless they speedily desisted from this barbarous practice, would soon sacrifice hecatombs of men, instead of heifers, to their goddess. He wondered that Minerva had not forsaken her temple; and

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that Bacchus had not removed, as preferring the purer mountain of Cithæron.

In the rock above the theatre is a large cavern, perhaps an ancient quarry, the front ornamented with marble pilasters of the Corinthian order, supporting an entablature, on which are three inscriptions. Over that in the middle, is a female figure, which had lost its head in the year 1676, mounted on two or three steps, sedent. On one side is a marble sun-dial, moved awry from its proper position. It is of a kind anciently very common,* as is evident from the great number still in use about Athens, particularly in the track called *The Gardens*, where many are set on the mud walls, often with very rude gnomons. Above the cavern are two columns, standing on the steep slope, between the foot of the castle wall and the sedent figure. They are of unequal heights, and have triangular capitals. On each of these a tripod has been fixed, as is evident from the marks of the feet, which may be seen from the battlements of the fortress. The Greeks have converted the cave into a chapel, which is called Panagia Spiliótissa, *The Virgin of the Grotto.* The sides of the rock within are covered with holy portraits. The door is rarely open, but I was once present at the celebration of mass, when it was lighted up with wax-candle, and filled with smoke of incense, with bearded priests, and a devout crowd; the spectacle suiting the place, which is at once solemn and romantic. The tripods, which decorated this monument, were obtained by chorusses exhibited in the theatre below, probably at the Dionysia; and consecrated to Bac-

* Lord Besborough has a small one in his choice and curious collection of antiquities at Roehampton. See the form in Paciaudius.

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chus. The first inscription informs us of the author and age, as well as of the occasion of the building. "Thrasyllus son of Traysillus of Decelia, dedicated *the tripod*, having, when he provided a chorus, conquered with men for the tribe Hippothoontis. Evius of Chalcis was musician. Neæchmus was archon. Circadamus son of Sotis was teacher." This archonshop falls on the first year of CXVth Olympiad, three hundred and twenty years before Christ. The other inscriptions are records of a similar nature. "The people provided a chorus. Pytharatus was archon; the president of the games was Thrasycles, son of Thasyllus, of Decelia. The tribe Pandionis conquered in the contest of men. Nicocles of Ambracia was musician. Lysippus an Arcadian was teacher." The third has a like preamble, and refers to the same year, but to another class of competitors. "The tribe Hippothoontis conquered in the contest of boys; Theon of Thebes was musician. Pronomas a Theban was teacher." Pytharatus was archon in the second year of the CXXVIIth Olympiad,* so that Thrasycles presided and procured other tripods, to be placed on the family monument, forty-nine years after it was erected by Thrasyllus his father. Decelia was a borough town of the tribe Hippothoontis. On one of the tripods was represented the story of Apollo and Diana, killing the children of Niobe. It is mentioned by Pausanias; who then proceeds to relate, that he had seen this Niobe on Mount Sipylus. The figure,† over the grotto, was probably

* Before Christ, 271.

† If it be conjectured that this figure represented a tribe, the answer is, that no instance of such personification has been produced.

Pausanias may be cited as mentioning statues or pictures of *the people*, but this is a mistranslation. Demus was an Athenian of singular beauty, the son of Pyri-

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intended to represent that celebrated phantom, which he has described; the idea of placing the statue there corresponding with her story, and being suggested both by the tripod, and by the tragedies, which were acted in the theatre, containing her unhappy catastrophe.

Going on from the theatre of Bacchus, you have an extensive corn field, once part of the Ceramicus within the city, on the left hand, now bounded by the bed of the Ilissus, beyond which are rocks; and, before you, on an eminence, is the monument of Philopappus. At some distance from the theatre begins an out-work of the fortress, standing on ancient arches, supposed to be the remains of a stoa, or portico, which was connected with the theatre, called the odéum.* This fabric was designed by Pericles for the musical contests, which he regulated and introduced at the Panathenæan solemnity. The building was finished by Lycurgus, son of Lycophron. It contained many rows of seats and marble columns. The roof was constructed with the masts and yards of Persian ships, and formed to imitate the pavilion of Xerxes. Here was the tribunal of the archon, or supreme magistrate; and here the Athenians listened to the rhapsodists rehearsing the poems of Homer, and to the songs in

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lampes, a friend of Pericles. v. *Meursius Pop. Ath.* 774. p. 779. *Att. Lect.* p. 1867.

* Pausanias, p. 23, describing the acropolis, mentions that Attalus had offered the war of the giants, the battle of the Athenians and Amazons, &c. which were (προς τῳ τειχει τῳ Νοτιῳ) against the south wall, and each as much as two cubits.

Among the prodigies which were supposed to have pre-signified the event of the war between Antony, who was styled *a new Bacchus*, and Cæsar, was this; the Bacchus in the combat with the giants was loosened by a hurricane, and borne into the theatre beneath. Plutarch.

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praise of the patriots Harmodius, and Aristogiton, and Thrasybulus. Aristion and Sylla set it on fire; the former, when he fled to the acropolis, because the timber would have enabled the enemy to raise machines for an attack without loss of time. King Ariobarzanes the Second, named Philopator, who reigned in Cappadocia not long after,* restored it; and in a stable is an inscription, which has belonged to a statue of him erected by the persons, whom he appointed the overseers. He was honoured also with a statue by the people, as appears from another inscription. Before the entrance were statues of the kings of Egypt, and, within, a Bacchus worth seeing. This was the edifice in being when Pausanias published his Attica. Afterwards, as he informs us, it was rebuilt by Atticus Herodes, in memory of his wife Regilla. This lady was a Roman of high extraction, and died of ill usage, which Herodes was supposed to have abetted; but he put his house into mourning, refused a second consulate, on account of his affliction, and dedicated her female ornaments in the temple at Eleusis. This fabric was roofed with cedar, and Greece had not a rival to it in dimensions and magnificence. The wall of the inner front of the proscenium is still standing, very lofty, with open arches; serving as part of an out-work of the castle; and, beyond it, turning up toward the castle-gate, a portion of the exterior wall, of the right wing, is visible. On the right hand, within the gate, is the way into the area, which was sown with wheat; as was also the circular sweep of the hill, on which the seats once ranged. In the wall of the proscenium, on this side, is a small niche, or cavity, with a low entrance. The dervishes have a *teckeh*,

* From the year of Rome 692 to 712. v. *Corsin. Inscriptiones Atticæ.*

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or place of worship, above, with a room, in which the bow-string, when a Turk is sentenced to be strangled, is commonly administered. A way leads from that part, within the out-work, to a door at the end next the theatre of Bacchus, and in that line Pausanias appears to have ascended to the front of the acropolis. Going on from the odéum, without turning, you descend among Turkish sepulchres, and, by the burying-grounds, into the vale at the foot of the hill.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the areopagus—The tribunal when extinct—The pnyx—Account of pnyx.

In the preceding chapter we have mentioned the hill of the areopagus. This place is described by Pausanias as opposite to the cave of Apollo and Pan. In Lucian, Mercury, arriving at Athens with Justice, who is sent by Jupiter to hold a court on areopagus, bids her sit down on the hill, looking towards pnyx, while he mounts up to the acropolis, and makes proclamation for all persons concerned to appear before her. Justice desires to be informed, before he goes, who it was she beheld approaching them, with horns on his head, hairy legs, and a pastoral pipe in his hand. Mercury relates the story of Pan, and shewing her the cave, his dwelling, tells her, that seeing them from it, not far off, he was coming, it was likely, to receive them. The hill before noted is proved to have been that of the areopagus by its situation, both with respect to the cave and to pnyx, of which place we shall treat next. It is ascended by steps cut

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in the rock, and by it, on the side next to the temple of Theseus, is a small church of St. Dionysius, near one ruined, and a well now choked up, in which, they tell you, St. Paul, on some occasion, was hid. The *upper council* of Athens assembled in the areopagus, and a writer of the Augustan age has recorded the clay-roof of the senate-house there as very ancient, and still existing. Pausanias informs us, that he saw, on the side next the acropolis, within the inclosure or wall, a monument and altar of Œdipus, and, after much inquiry, found that his bones had been removed thither from Thebes.

The areopagus was long the seat of a most serious, silent, solemn, and impartial tribunal. The end of this court of judicature is as obscure as its origin, which was derived from very remote antiquity. It existed, with the other magistracies, in the time of Pausanias. The term of its subsequent duration is not ascertained; but a writer, who lived under the emperors Theodosius the elder and younger, mentions it as extinct. The actions for murder were introduced by the archon called *the king*, who laying aside his crown, which was of myrtle, voted as a common member; and these causes were usually tried in the open air, that the criminal and his accuser might not be under the same roof. It was the business of a herald to deliver a wand to each of the judges.

We have taken notice, more than once, of a valley between the hill of the acropolis and Lycabettus. That region of the ancient city was called Cœle or *The hollow*. By the side of the mountain, beyond the way formerly called *Through* Cœle, nearly opposite to the rock of the areopagus, is a large, naked, semicircular area or terrace supported by stones of

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a vast size, the faces cut into squares. A track leads to it between the areopagus and the temple of Theseus. As you ascend to the brow, some small channels occur, cut perhaps to receive libations. The descent into the area is by hewn steps, and the rock within is smoothed down perpendicularly in front, extending to the sides, not in a straight line, but with an obtuse angle at the steps. This place has been mistaken for the areopagus, and for the odéum, but was the pnyx.

Pnyx was a place of public assembly, not boasting the curious labour of a theatre, but formed with the simplicity of primitive times. There the citizens met to transact their affairs; and by law no person could be crowned elsewhere, on a decree of the people. The business was done afterwards in the theatre of Bacchus; but they continued to chuse the magistrates, and to vote the strategus, or prætor in pnyx, which was hallowed by command of an oracle. The furniture on record is a stone or altar, on which certain oaths were taken; a pulpit for the orators; and a sun-dial, made on the wall when Apseudes was archon.* The pulpit, which before looked toward the sea, was turned a contrary way by the thirty tyrants, who considered naval dominion as the parent of democracy. A portion of the rock near the entrance, within, was probably left for the altar to be placed on it; and a broad step or bank, on each side by the perpendicular wall, was intended perhaps to raise the magistrates who presided, and persons of superior rank, above the crowd. The grooves, it may be conjectured, were for tablets containing decrees and orders. The circular wall, which now reaches only to the top of the terrace, it is likely, was higher and served as

* Before Christ, 434.

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an inclosure. Excepting this, and the accession of soil, with the removal of the altar, the pulpit and the sun-dial, pnyx may be deemed to have undergone no very material alteration. It had formerly many houses about it, and that region of the city was called by its name. Cimon, with Elpinice his sister, lived in pnyx; and Plato relates of the earlier Athens, that it had extended on one side of the acropolis toward the rivers Eridanus and Ilissus, and on the other had comprised Pnyx, having beyond it Mount Lycabettus.

CHAP. XIV.

Story of Theseus—A temple erected to him—The decorations—Present state of the temple—The sculptures—Gymnasium of Ptolemy.

We proceed now to the temple of Theseus. This most renowned hero, it is related, was born at Trœzen, a city of the Peloponnesus, and was the son of Neptune and Ægeus king of Athens, by Æthra daughter of Pittheus. His mother conducted him, when sixteen years old, to a rock, beneath which Ægeus had deposited his sword and slippers. She directed him to bear these pledges to Athens; and he resolved to go by land, though the way was full of perils. In Epidauria he was stopped by Periphetes, whom he slew, and afterwards carried about his weapon, which was a club, in imitation of Hercules. Sinis or Pityocamptes, whose haunt was by the isthmus of Corinth, had been accustomed to fasten to bended pines the unfortunate persons, whom he could seize, to be torn in pieces by their elastic violence. On him Theseus retaliated. He killed Phœa the terrible sow of Crommyon,

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and mother of the famous Caledonian boar. He then entered the Megaris and encountered Sciron, whom he threw into the sea. It was the practice of this monster to force passengers to wash his feet by a precipice called Chelone, and to kick them unexpectedly down. By Eleusis, Cercyon made him wrestle for his life, and was overcome. By the Eleusinian Cephissus he slew Polypemon, surnamed Procrustes, compelling him to undergo the same torture, which he was used to inflict on travellers; fitting their bodies to his beds, either by tension or amputation. Passing the Cephissus, he was hospitably entertained by the Phytalidæ. He arrived at Athens on the 8th of Hecatombæon or July. He wore his hair platted, and a garment, which reached to his heels. Ægeus, on seeing the sword, acknowledged him for his son. After this, Theseus subdued Pallas, who had rebelled; and drove the Marathonian bull alive into the city, where it was sacrificed to Apollo Delphinius. He sailed to Crete, destroyed the Minotaur, and escaped out of the Labyrinth, assisted by a clue given him by Ariadne, daughter of Minos. He made Athens the capital of all Attica, and instituted the Panathenæan festival. He defeated the Amazons. He assisted Adrastus in recovering the bodies of the dead Argives from the Thebans, and slew Creon their king. He was present at the marriage feast of Pirithous; and aiding, with the Lapithæ, to expel the Centaurs, who were intoxicated, and offered violence to the women. He was fifty years old, when he seized Helen, a girl not marriageable, as she was dancing in a temple at Sparta. His abettor was Pirithous, who, in return, required his company on a like expedition, which proved unfortunate. It was to procure for him the daughter of Pluto, king of the Molossi; or, as mythologists relate, they medita-

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ted a rape of Proserpine, and descended into hell, but were detained there, condemned to sit on a rock, without power to rise. Hercules obtained liberty for Theseus. In the mean time the Tyndaridæ had invaded Attica and taken Aphidna, where Helen was concealed, with Æthra his mother, whom they carried away into captivity. The Athenians received them into the city as friends, at the persuasion of Menestheus, whom they made king. Theseus returned to Athens, but was soon compelled to fly. He took refuge in the island of Scyros, where he was killed by Lycomedes, the king, who pushed him down a precipice.

It was the popular opinion at Athens, after the battle of Marathon, that the spectre of Theseus had been seen fighting against the Medes. The Pythia directed the Athenians to remove his relics to their city, and to honour him as a hero. His bones, with a brazen helmet and a sword lying near them, were discovered by Cimon son of Miltiades; who transported them from Scyros, about eight hundred years after he died. The Athenians received them with splendid processions and sacrifices; and rejoiced, as if he were come again in person. They instituted sacred rites for him, as for a god, and erected an heroum or monument on the Collonus Hippius, and a temple in the city, on which they conferred the privilege of an asylum. This building, which was called the Theséum, was in subsequent ages reputed so exceedingly holy, that with the Parthenon and another temple it was generally adored.

The temple of Theseus was decorated with (γραφαι) representations of the Athenians fighting with the Amazons, and of the battle of the Centaurs with the Lapithæ. Theseus was distinguished as having killed a Centaur, while the others were engaged in equal combat. The third wall required explana-

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tion, as Pausanias observes, partly from time, partly because Micon had not expressed the whole story. Minos, it was said, had required Theseus to prove he was the son of Neptune, by recovering a signet, which he threw into the sea; and they related, that he arose with it, and with a golden crown, presented to him by Amphitrite. It was Micon who painted Theseus, and the Athenians fighting with the Amazons in the stoa or portico, called Pœcile. He was also a statuary.

The temple of Theseus is of the doric order, and, in the style of its architecture, greatly resembles the parthenon. Though a very ancient fabric, it is entire, except the roof, which is modern, and vaulted, with an aperture or two for the admission of light. The pavement has been removed, and the walls are bare. It is a Greek church, dedicated to St. George, as good a hero as Theseus. A recess for the holy table has been erected, as in the parthenon, but in the pronaos; and decorated with portraits of saints. The entrance is in the side of the cell, at a low door, which is kept locked, except on the festival, when mass is celebrated. It is plated with iron, and much battered: the Turks firing at it with bullets to try the force of their powder, the goodness of their pieces, or their own dexterity at a mark. In the corner, within, stands a circular marble, which has served as a font From the inscriptions, which range in four columns, it appears to have belonged to the Prytanéum. Among the names of travellers on the wall is that of Mr. Vernon.* The cell has been painted on the outside with figures of saints, unless these traces, which are faint, may be referred rather to the

* See his letter relating to Greece, and particularly to Athens. *Philosoph. Trans.* n. 124. For an account of the author, see *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* 2 Ed. v. 2. col. 599, 600.

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pencil of Micon. An attentive spectator will discover likewise some architectural ornaments and mouldings, with stars in the soffits of the lacunaria of the portico.† The posticum has been injured by lightning. The substruction is visible, except on the side next the areopagus, where the soil reaches nearly to the top of the step.

The sculptures still extant about this temple, though much impaired, witness the hand of a master, and furnish abundant proof that Theseus was its owner. The exploits of this hero, and of Hercules, were carved on the metopes, in sixteen compartments, in alto relievo, and the following subjects are intelligible, viz. Theseus killing the sow of Crommyon; throwing Sciron from a rock into the sea; wrestling with Cercyon; destroying the Minotaur; driving the bull of Marathon to Athens; Hercules strangling the Neméan lion; with Iolaus destroying the hydra; receiving the golden apples from a nymph, one of the Hesperides. Mr. Pars copied these with the bass reliefs of the pronaos and posticum, except a few stones designed by Mr. Stuart. In the sculpture of the posticum, it is remarkable, that Theseus is distinguished in the same manner as by Micon. He is killing a Centaur, whom he has thrown on the ground, backwards. In another piece two Centaurs are burying one of the Lapithæ in a pit alive, laying over him a large stone. On another is the battle with the Thebans, and Creon dead. Two figures with shields may be Hercules and his companion Iolaus descending into hell, where they find Theseus and Pirithous sitting on rocks, and between them a female, perhaps Metanoia, or repentance.

† Mr. Pars found out the method used in drawing the echinus or *eggs and anchors*, from the marks of the compasses on the wall.

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The temple of Theseus was near the gymnasium of Ptolemy, which was not far from the agora or market-place. In the gymnasium, besides other statues, was one of the founder, in brass. A remnant of massive wall in the town, not far from the temple, is supposed to have been part of that building.

CHAP. XV.

A marble arch or gate-way—The temple of Jupiter Olympius—Not finished before Hadrian—Number of statues, &c.—The ruin—Of the water of Athens—An aqueduct—Of the Eridanus and Ilissus—Remark—An ancient bridge.

AFTER the temple of Theseus no ruin occurs without the town, keeping the acropolis, as before, on the right hand, until we came opposite to the end of the rock, where the scaffold was standing. There, at some distance in the plain, is a marble gate, which separated the old city from Hadrianopolis or New Athens. It is related, that Theseus erected a stela or column on the isthmus of Corinth, which remained above a hundred years, to the time of Codrus, when it was demolished by the Peloponnesians. It had inscriptions in Greek. On one side, "Here is Peloponnesus, not Ionia;" and on the other, "Here is not Peloponnesus, but Ionia." The gate, serving as a boundary, is inscribed in capitals in like manner. Over the arch, on one side, "What you see is Athens, the old city of Theseus;" and on the other front, "What you see is the city of Hadrian, and not of Theseus." We dug down to the basement, and, with much difficulty, procured ladders, sufficiently long and strong,

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to ascend and measure the upper part. From the traces of painting on the walls above, it appears that a church has been erected against it. This fabric, which is of the Corinthian order, with the tower of the winds and other structures at Athens, is seen to disadvantage from the accession of soil round about it. Beyond it, within the region of new Athens, is the majestic ruin of the temple of Jupiter Olympius.

Deucalion was said to have erected the first temple of Jupiter on this spot; and the place of his burial was shewn near it to prove that he had lived at Athens. Pisistratus, the second founder dying, his sons carried on the work; but after they were slain, so many difficulties occurred, that it remained for ages unfinished; a specimen of the only temple in the world designed with a grandeur worthy of the Ruler of heaven; and exciting astonishment in every beholder. About four hundred years after Pisistratus, Antiochus Epiphanes promised to complete it; and Cossutius, a Roman, the architect, is extolled for his noble ideas of magnitude in the cell, and for disposing the columns and the entablature with an exact symmetry, which testified his exquisite knowledge and skill. It is likely he was employed in fitting up the inside of the fabric, in which, as well as in the parthenon, were colonnades. The temple was a dipteros and hypæthros, or with double rows of columns, and open to the sky; though not, as was most common, with ten, but with eight, columns in front. Rome afforded no example of this species. It was one of the four marble edifices, which had raised to the pinnacle of renown the architects,* who planned them; men,

* Antistrates, Callæschros, Antimachides, and Porinus, were the earlier architects employed on this fabric.

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it is said, admired in the assembly of the gods, for their wisdom and excellence.

Sylla, when he punished Athens, dared to plunder even Jupiter Olympius, and removed columns and brazen thresholds to adorn the capitol at Rome. The structure still continuing imperfect, the kings in alliance with Augustus agreed to finish it by contribution, and jointly dedicate it to the genius of the emperor. Afterwards, by command of Caligula, the image of Jupiter was transported to the capitol, where the god submitted to lose his own head, which was broken off, and to accept in its room that of a monster less civil to him even than Sylla. It was reserved for Hadrian to put the last hand to a work, on which Athens had expended seven thousand and eighty-eight talents, and which Antiochus, with united kings, had been ambitious of completing. This achievement of the emperor was celebated in a hymn sung at the sacrifice, when he dedicated the fabric to Jupiter, more than seven hundred years after its foundation by Pisistratus; and he acquired from it the title of Olympius. He placed in the temple an uncommon serpent brought from India.

We shall insert here an extract from Pausanias relating to this temple. "The image of Jupiter is worth seeing, not for its similitude to other statues in size, for those of the Romans and Rhodians are not colossal, but as made of ivory and gold and with art, as will be perceived by those who consider its magnitude. The statues of Hadrian there are two of Thasian marble, and two of Egyptian. The Athenian colonies stand in brass before the columns. The whole inclosure is about four stadia, half a mile, in circumference, and full of statues; for one of Hadrian was dedicated by each of the cities; and

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Athens has exceeded them all by offering the Colossus (which was behind the temple and worthy of notice). The antiquities within the inclosure are a brazen Jupiter, and a temple of Saturn and Rea, and the portion of this goddess who is called Olympia. There the pavement is rent asunder as much as a cubit; and they relate, that after the Deucalionéan flood, the chasm afforded a passage to the water; and they cast yearly into it wheat flower mixed with honey. And, besides a statue of Isocrates, there is a brazen tripod supported by Persians, of Phrygian marble, worth seeing." Of the pedestals, which belonged to these statues, several are found scattered about in the town, fixed in the walls, or half buried in earth; and some of the inscriptions are preserved. Among them is that of one of the Thasian images, which I saw immured at a church, and copied. Within the peribolus or inclosure is part of another, a massive piece of white marble, lying probably near its original site, the face, which is inscribed with very large characters, downwards. From these it appears that the priest of the temple, at the time of their erection, was named Tiberius Claudius Atticus, and, it is supposed, was the famous Herodes. The inclosure has been demolished, but a terrace of considerable extent is still sustained by part of the wall, which on the side next to the Ilissus is strengthened with buttresses.

The ruin of the temple of Jupiter Olympius consists of prodigious columns, tall and beautiful, of the Corinthian order, fluted; some single, some supporting their architraves; with a few massive marbles beneath; the remnant of a vast heap, which only many ages could have consumed, and reduced into so scanty a compass. The columns are of very extraordinary dimensions, being about six feet in diameter, and near sixty

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in height.* The number without the cell was one hundred and sixteen or twenty. Seventeen were standing in 1676: but, a few years before we arrived, one was overturned, with much difficulty, and applied to the building a new mosque in the bazar or market place. This violence was avenged by the basha of Negropont, who made it a pretext for extorting from the vaiwode or governor fifteen purses; the pillar being, he alleged, the property of their master, the Grand Seignior. It was an angular column, and of consequence in determining the dimensions of the fabric. We regretted, that the fall of this mighty mass had not been postponed until we came, as it would have afforded an opportunity of inspecting and measuring some members, which we found far too lofty to be attempted. On a piece of the architrave, supported by a couple of columns, are two parallel walls, of modern masonry arched about the middle, and again near the top. You are told it has been the habitation of a hermit, doubtless of a Stylites; but of whatever building it has been part, and for whatever purpose designed, it must have been erected thus high in air, while the immense ruin of this huge structure was yet scarcely diminished, and the heap inclined so as to render it accessible. It was remarked that two stones of a step in the front had coalesced at the extremity, so that no juncture could be perceived; and the like was discovered also in a step of the parthenon. In both instances it may be attributed to a concretory fluid, which pervades the marble in the quarry. Some portion remaining in the pieces, when taken green as it were, and placed in mutual contact, it exuded, and united them by a process similar to that in a bone of an animal when broken and properly set.

* Ruins of Athens, p. 39.

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The water anciently conveyed in channels to the city and to the Piræus, coming from sources in the mountains, which abound with ore, was hard, and had a scum swimming on the surface, such as may be still seen at the public cisterns, was unfit to drink, and applicable solely to other uses. The wells afforded a more wholesome fluid, but were the occasion of many quarrels. Solon enacted that all, who lived within four stadia, or half a mile, of a public well, should have the privilege of drawing from it; that those who were more remote should provide their own water, but should be allowed a certain quantity daily from the next well, if they found none on digging ten fathom deep. The transgressors were fined by the epistates, or prefect of the waters. The city now abounds in wells, some houses having three or four, in consequence of these early and wise regulations.

New Athens was supplied with water, by the munificence of Hadrian, from remote sources, at a vast expense. He founded a very extensive aqueduct, of which many piers are yet standing in the tract beneath Cephisia, or Cevrisha, as that village is now called. It was finished by his son and successor, Antoninus Pius, in his third consulate. The water was partly conveyed by a duct running along the side of the adjacent hill, and distributed to the town from a reservoir, or cistern, cut in the rock, and fronted with an arcade of marble, of the Ionic order. One half of this remains, consisting of two columns, and the spring of the arch. The soil is risen some feet round about the shafts. Over the columns is half the inscription,* which was copied entire by Spon

* In the Modern Universal History it is made to refer to New Athens, in Delos. See volume of Chronology, p. 1031.

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from a manuscript, then two hundred years old, and was as follows:

The part remaining.

IMP. CAESART. AELIVS

AVG. PIVS COS. III TRIB. POT. II. P. P. AQVA EDVCTVM IN NOVIS

CONSVMMAVIT

The part supplied.

HADRIANVS ANTONINVS

ATHENIS COEPTVM ADIVO HADRIANO PATRESVO

DEDICAVITQ.

The state of this ruin was the same in 1676 as now. It stands beneath the mountain of St. George, anciently, it is supposed, Anchesmus; and is about a mile from the gate of Hadrian. The space between, where once was new Athens, is now ploughed and sowed.

On the left hand, returning from the aqueduct, is the bed of the Ilissus; and, higher up, the junction of it and of the Eridanus. The water of this river was so bad, that the cattle would scarcely drink of it. The Ilissus is now, as it ever was, an occasional torrent. In summer it is quite dry. During our residence at Athens, I several times visited the bed, after snow had fallen on the mountains, or heavy rain, hoping to see it filled to the margin, and rushing along with majestic violence; but never found even the surface covered; the water lodging in the rocky cavities, and trickling from one to another.

And here it may be remarked, that the poets who cele-

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brate the Ilissus as a stream laving the fields, cool, lucid, and the like, have both conceived and conveyed a false idea of this renowned water-course. They may bestow a willow fringe on its naked banks, amber waves on the muddy Mæander, and hanging woods on the bare steep of Delphi, if they please; but the foundation in nature will be wanting; nor indeed is it easy for a descriptive writer, when he exceeds the sphere of his own observation, to avoid falling into local absurdities and untruths.

Going on by the bed of the Ilissus, as before, toward the town, you come to a ruinous bridge of three arches, the stones massive, and without cement. A piece of ordinary wall, standing on it, is part of a monastery, which was abandoned after the Turks took Athens. The ingenious Frenchman,* who, in a view of this spot, has exhibited the bridge standing in a full stream, may justly plead, that the same liberties have been indulged to the painter as to the poet.

CHAP. XVI.

The stadium—Rebuilt by Atticus Herodes—Present state—A temple by the Ilissus—Once the Eleusinium—The lesser mysteries—Temple of Diana the huntress—The fountain Callirhoe or Enneacrunus—Scene of a dialogue of Plato—Changed.

The bridge over the bed of the Ilissus, mentioned in the preceding chapter, is opposite to the stadium, called the panathenæan, from a solemn festival of all the Athenians, at which the games were held there. By uniting the two banks

* See Le Roy.

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it made the crossing easy, and prevented any inconvenience if a flood happened. The rewards of victory, in the gymnic exercises performed in the stadium, were a crown of olive, and a jar of most precious oil, the produce of holy trees, called Moriæ. These were twelve in number, immediate descendants from the original olive of Minerva Polias, planted in the academy, and, on account of their sanctity untouched by the Lacedæmonians, when they invaded Attica. In it private merit was imblazoned by public gratitude, the herald proclaiming the honorary decrees of the people, with the names of the persons presented with statues and golden crowns; and it was regarded as a glorious recompense to be distinguished and applauded in this assembly. The emperor Hadrian presided, when at Athens, and furnished a thousand wild beasts to be hunted for their diversion. The stadium was one of the works of Lycurgus, and the ground-plat a torrent-bed, which he smoothed.

The stadium of Lycurgus was much decayed, when Atticus Herodes, pleased with a crown, which had been conferred on him, and with his reception at the panathenæa, rose up and, addressing the company, promised the Athenians to provide for them, and for the Greeks who should repair to the next solemnity, and for those who should contend at it, a new stadium of white marble. This was completed in four years, chiefly from the quarries on Mount Pentele, and is extolled as without a rival, and as unequalled by any theatre. "What indeed," says Pausanias, "is not alike pleasing to those, who have heard of it, but is a wonder to those who have seen it, is the stadium of Herodes the Athenian. One may guess at the magnitude from hence. It is a mountain beginning at a distance beyond the Ilissus, of a lunar form, reaching to the

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river-bank, straight and double." The author, it seems, would insinuate, that the magnificence of Herodes was a topic not very agreeable. By the will of his father the people were entitled to a large bequest; but among his papers were found vouchers for sums borrowed to a great amount. Herodes had balanced the old debt with the legacy. This had raised a clamour; many murmuring, as defrauded of their due; and these affirmed, it was indeed a panathenæan stadium, for that all the Athenians paid for it. On one side was a temple of Fortune with a statue of ivory.

When the panathenæa, with the other spectacles ceased, the stadium became as useless, as the odéum or theatre, and was treated in like manner. The mountain, on which quarries were exhausted, has been totally stripped of its marble covering. The seats were continued in rows very high up, on the side next the sea; the slopes favouring such a disposition. At the two extremities by the Ilissus is some stone-work. The area, which produces grain, has been exactly measured, and found to be six hundred and thirty English feet long. On the left hand, going up it, near the top, is a subterraneous passage through the mountain, once under the seats. This was a private way, by which the president of the games, the magistrates, and priests entered to take their places, after the spectators were met; and by which, it has been surmised, those who contended, and were unsuccessful, made their retreat. Such avenues were not uncommon in the stadiums of Greece.

Going on from the stadium, without crossing the Ilissus, you have a solitary church on the left hand at a distance, and before you a temple of white marble seated on the rock, by the side of the river. This has been transformed, as well as the parthenon and the temple of Theseus, into a church,

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named *St. Mary on the Rock*. It was abandoned by the Greeks, as desecrated, after the Romish mass had been celebrated in it, in 1672, by order of the marquis de Nointell. On the wall, next Hymettus, are lines of one or two small sun-dials, and in the vaulted roof is the trunk of a little female statue. Some traces remain of figures, and of architectural ornaments painted in the inside. An exact view of this temple is given in *The Ruins of Athens*, to which valuable work the reader is here referred. The fabric has sustained some damage since, the exterior column next to the Ilissus, in the front, being ruined, and the capital lying on the rock much maimed. The substruction of the opposite end is so impaired, that it is likely a farther downfall will soon ensue; when the materials will be removed, as wanted, and the site in a few years become hardly distinguishable.

The ancients preferred particular situations for the temples of certain deities. A place, without the city, which men had no occasion to approach, but at set times, and to sacrifice, was commonly chosen for Ceres; she requiring, that it should be kept pure by chaste religion, and sanctity of manners. The temple before described has stood on such a spot, and, it is believed, was the famous Eleusinium belonging to Ceres and Proserpine, before which was a statue of Triptolemus, mentioned by Pausanias, who then enters on a detail of his story, but, as he asserts, was prevented from proceeding in it, and in his account of the temple, by a dream; and therefore passes on to topics, of which he was at liberty to treat without reserve. This place was regarded by the people with the same reverence as the parthenon and Theséum.

The *lesser mysteries*, which belonged to Proserpine, were solemnized, yearly, in the month Anthesterion or February,

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in the region called Agræ, which was beyond the Ilissus. They, who aspired to initiation, were forewarned to come with clean hands and hearts, and a knowledge of the Greek tongue; besides an awful sense of the great holiness of those ancient things, to which they were about to be introduced. The herald commanded all murderers, magicians, and wicked or impious persons to depart. The assembly was purified by a solemn lustration on the mystic banks of the Ilissus. The ceremony was accompanied with prayer and sacrifice, the victim a young pig. When the rites had been fulfilled, they were admitted into the Eleusinium, probably in companies; for it is described as a small building. Afterwards, they were styled Mystæ, and were expected to observe certain injunctions, of which one was to abstain from eating red mullet, a delicacy sacred to Ceres. One year at least intervened, before they could attain to the *greater mysteries*, to which these were preparatory. Secrecy impenetrable, with night, veiled the whole transaction. This initiation was, in the popular opinion, of no trivial consequence. The neglect of it is among the crimes imputed to Socrates. Greeks, Romans, and persons from remoter countries, of both sexes, were desirous to partake of it, and Athens at the season was crowded with devotees; receiving, yearly, into the Eleusinium more people than repaired to some other cities.

Beyond the Eleusinium, in Agræ, was a temple of Diana Agræa. She was represented bearing a bow, and named Agrotera, *the Huntress*. It was said, she had hunted there on her first arrival from Delos. When the Medes landed at Marathon, the Athenians made a vow to her, to offer a goat for each of the enemy whom they should kill; but she proved so very propitious, that a sufficient number of victims

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could not be procured, and they decreed to sacrifice yearly five hundred, as was the custom in the time of Xenophon. From this event she was named Euclea, or *Glorious*. Her temple was erected from the spoils, which they dedicated, and in 1676 was a church called *(Stávrosis Petru*, or *Stavroménu Petru) St. Peter's Crucifixion*. It was of white marble, and the floor Mosaic. The site is now occupied by the church, mentioned as on our left coming from the stadium, a recent and mean structure, with fragments of columns and marbles lying in and about it. The Mosaic pavement was ordinary, much broken, and covered with dirt, swarming, as we experienced, with large fleas. A skull or two, and some human bones, were scattered on it. We found there an Ionic capital, with marks of the compasses used in forming the volute.

Beneath the Eleusinium, in a rocky dell, is a small church with some buildings, and trees, and vestiges of the fountain Callirhoe, or, as it was called after Pisistratus had furnished it with *nine pipes*, Enneacrunus. This was without the gate of Diochares, and near the Lyceum; the water copious, clear, and fit to drink. The current is now conveyed into the town, and only the holes, at which it issued into the cistern, remain. These are in the rocky bank next to the temple of Jupiter Olympius, which is in the way to the gate dividing the cities of Theseus and Hadrian, and not remote. At a little distance is a modern ruinous fountain.

In one of the dialogues of Plato, Socrates is represented as meeting Phædrus, who was going from a house by the temple of Jupiter Olympius toward the Lycéum, which was without the city. Perceiving, as they walked, that he had a book in his left hand, under his garment, Socrates proposed turning out of the road, and sitting down by the Ilissus.

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Phædrus consents, pointing to a lofty plane-tree as a proper place; and observing, that as both had their feet naked, it would not be disagreeable to wet them, especially at that time of the year and day. The conversation changes to a local story, that Boreas had carried off Orythia, daughter of Erectheus, as she was sporting by the Ilissus, not by the fountain, but two or three stadia lower down, where was the crossing over to go to the temple of Diana Agræa, and where was the altar of Boreas. On their arrival at the chosen spot, Socrates admires it, like a stranger or one rarely stirring out of the city into the hilly country round about. He praises the large and tall tree; the thicket of Agnus Castus, high and shady, then in full flower and fragrant; the cool delicious fountain running near, with the girls by it, and the images, which made it seem a temple of the Nymphs and Achelous; the grateful and sweet air; the shrill summer-chorus of locusts; and the elegance of verdure prepared, as it were, to meet the reclining head.

The vicinity of Enneacrunus has ceased to deserve encomiums, like those bestowed on it by Socrates, since it has been deprived of the waste water of the fountain, which chiefly nourished the herbage and the plane-tree. The marble facing and the images are removed; and the place is now dry, except a pool at the foot of the rock, down which the Ilissus commonly trickles. The water, which overflows after rain, is used by a currier, and is often offensive. The church in this dell occupies, it is probable, the site of the altar of the Muses, to whom, among other deities, the Ilissus was sacred. One lower down stands perhaps where Boreas had an altar. This god was believed to have assisted the Athenians in the Persian war, and was on that account honoured with a temple. By the Ilissus Codrus was slain.

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CHAP. XVII.

The Muséum—Monument of Philopappus—Sepulchres—The Cimonian sepulchres—The eminence fronting the acropolis.

FOLLOWING the course of the Ilissus, from Enneacrunus, you have the theatre of Bacchus and the Odéum at a distance on the right hand. The intermediate plain, which made part of the *Ceramicus within the city*, has in several places the scattered stones and rubbish of its former edifices. By the bed of the river are some masses of brick work and traces of building, with a solitary church founded on a small rock. Farther on is the mountainous range lying before the acropolis, of which the portion next to the Ilissus was called the Muséum, and was said to have received its name from Musæus, a disciple of Orpheus, who, it was related, sung, and dying of old age, was buried there. The summit was fortified by Antigonus and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes; but a small body of the Athenians succeeded in an attempt to scale, and expelled the garrison of Macedonians. The path of the wall, which ascended the hill, may be seen, when the ground is free from corn and herbage.

Pausanias informs us, that a monument had been erected on the Muséum for a Syrian,* but conceals his name. A part of it is still extant, with inscriptions. The ruin is of white marble, a portion of a semicircle, the convex side toward the Piræus. It consists of two niches, and on the left was a

* Pausanias, p. 24. See a comment on this passage in *Daniel by the LXX.* p. 629. Rome, 1772. The author of the dissertation makes Musæus to have been Moses, and Moses the Syrian here mentioned.

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third, which it is supposed completed the symmetry of the structure. In the first niche on the right is a statue sedent; and underneath an inscription in Greek. "King Antiochus, son of king Antiochus." In the middle niche is another statue and inscription, "Philopappus, son of Antiochus Epiphanes, of Bisa." This place was one of the demi or towns of the tribe Antiochis, which had its name from king Antiochus, who had been a great benefactor to the Athenians. These were the ancestors of the person, who, it is probable, filled the third niche. He is recorded on a pilaster, between the two statues, in a Latin inscription, which, it has been conjectured, was continued on the pilaster now missing. His name was Caius Julius Antiochus Philopappus, and he lived under Trajan. The posterity of king Antiochus were removed by Pompey to Rome, and reduced to the rank of citizens. The Syrian of Pausanius, it is supposed, was this Pliloppapus, one of his descendants. From the inscription it appears that he attained to the dignity of consul; but, as he is not registered in the consular tables, it is most likely that he was only designed, and did not survive to take the chair. The emperor is styled in the inscription OPTVMVS, which title was not bestowed on him before the year of Christ one hundred and fifteen.* On the basement, beneath the pilaster, is a bold relievo representing a person in a chariot drawn by four horses, preceded by attendants, and followed by victory; the figures as large as life. The soil beneath is washed away, and the bare rock

* v. *Fabret. ad Col Traj.* In the following year the title Parthicus was confirmed to Trajan. Dio. This does not occur among the titles on the pilaster, and the omission will ascertain the date, if it be supposed that the inscription was not continued.

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with the substruction is visible; the spectator standing some feet below the intended level. Near it is rubbish of a church. We employed an old Albanian to watch nightly on our scaffold, to prevent the ropes from being pilfered.

In the side of the rock of the Muséum, next to the Ilissus, are the sepulchres, which we noted in our way from the Piræus. Some time after Solon, it was enacted at Athens, that no sepulchre should have more labour bestowed on it, than could be performed by ten men in three days; that the roof should be plain; and that no Hermæ or Mercurial statues should be allowed.' These perhaps are of a remoter antiquity, and were designed for no vulgar tenants; but, though mansions of the illustrious dead, they have long since been stripped of their marble facings and ornaments, and are now open, and defiled; serving chiefly to shelter cattle from the sun.

We now enter the valley at the foot of the hill of the acropolis, in which is a track leading between Pnyx and the Areopagus, toward the temple of Theseus. This region was called Cœle, or *the hollow*. On the left hand is a gap in the mountain, where, it is believed, was the Melitensian gate; and within is a sepulchre or two in the rock. Going on, other sepulchres hewn in the side of the mountain, like those first mentioned, occur; and here again we may regret that no friendly inscription informs us of their respective owners; but these were named the *Cimonian sepulchres*. Herodotus relates, that the sepulchre of Cimon, father of Miltiades, was fronting the acropolis, beyond the way called *through Cœle*; and that near him were interred his mares, which had obtained for him three victories at Olympia. Cimon, son of Miltiades, died in Cyprus, and Thucydides the historian was

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slain in Thrace; but the relics of each were transported to the burying-place of their family. The sepulchre of Thucydides, by that of Elphinice, the sister of Cimon, in Cœle, not far from the Melitensian gate, and in it was a stela or column inscribed "Thucydides, son of Olorus, of Alimus." There also was shewn a tomb of Herodotus.

The ascent to the brow is farther on the left hand, beyond Pnyx; and by the track are small channels, already mentioned, cut in the rock, perhaps to receive libations. From that eminence, on which the Persians, and before them the Amazons, encamped near the Areopagus, the Venetians battered the acropolis with four mortars and six pieces of cannon, in 1687, when the roof of the Parthenon was destroyed. This event was remembered by a little old man living at Athens, who conducted me to a ruined windmill above Pnyx, as standing on or near the spot, from which the bomb was thrown.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the gate called Dipylon—Abstract of Pausanias—The Pompeium, &c.—Statues of Jupiter and Hadrian—Of Harmodius and Aristogiton—Paintings in Pœcile—The region called Melit—The Agora—The altar of Pity.

We should proceed next to the antiquities within the present town, but these have been published, with accuracy and fidelity, by two of our own countrymen, one of whom was my companion in this expedition. To their work I refer the curious reader; and, to complete our view of this illustrious city, shall now divest Pausanias of the digressions,

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which obscure his method, and follow him, as it were unembarrassed, in his survey; subjoining some farther account of a few of the places, and such remarks on their situation, as may contribute to enlarge our knowledge of the general topography of ancient Athens. But first we shall treat of the gate Dipylon.

Dipylon was the gate at which Sylla entered from the Piræus, and was sometimes called the *Piræan Gate*. It led toward Thria and Eleusis, and was likewise called the *Thrasian* and the *Sacred Gate*. A region *within*, and a suburb *without* it, being named the Ceramicus, it was also called *the Gate of the Ceramicus*. Being placed, as it were, in the mouth of the city, it was larger and wider than the other gates, and had broad avenues to it. One was from the agora or *market-place*, a portion of the inner Ceramicus; which was on the side of the acropolis next Mount Hymettus. At this the citizens could march out in battle-array, passing, it should seem, through Cœle. The principal slaughter made by Sylla was about the agora, in the Ceramicus; and when the citadel was reduced, he inclosed there and decimated the Athenians.

Pausanias, on his arrival in the city from the Piræus, notes first an edifice called the Pompeium, and a temple of Ceres near it; and then the stoas or porticoes, adorned with brass statues, extending from the gate, which was Dipylon, into the Ceramicus. He begins with the stoa named *the Mercuries*, which had temples of the gods; the gymnasium of Mercury; the house of Polyton, then sacred to Bacchus; and, after it, a building with statues. This brings him into the Ceramicus. He then returns to the stoa on the right, which had statues, and was called *the Royal*, because there was the tribunal of the archon styled *the King*. The ascent of the Areopagus

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being long and wearisome to old men, the venerable senate sometimes met in this portico. There stood Jupiter Eleutherius, or *the Deliverer*, and the emperor Hadrian. The stoa of Jupiter was behind. This he describes next; with the temple of Apollo Patrous, which was near; the Metróum or temple of Cybele; the senate-house of the five hundred; the Tholus, and higher up a range of statues, among which were the ten heroes styled the Eponymi; and Attalus, Ptolemy and Hadrian, from whom likewise tribes were named; and after these, besides others, Lycurgus and Demosthenes. Near this statue was a temple of Mars, probably at the Areopagus; and then, not far off, the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton; then the statues before the entrance of the Odéum; then the Odéum; the fountain Enneacrunus; the Eleusinium beyond it; and, more remote, the temple of Diana Euclea in Agræ. The author returns into the city, and begins again, above the Ceramicus and *royal portico*, with the Hephæstéum or temple of Vulcan and Minerva, by which was a temple of Venus Urania; then going toward the portico called Pœcile, was the Hermes Agoræus, or Mercury of the Agora; and near it a gate,* on which was a trophy for a victory obtained by the Athenian cavalry from a general of Cassander. In the agora was an altar of Pity. This abstract comprises a portion of the old city by Dipylon, the region in the front of the acropolis, and the plain on the side next Hymettus, or the Ceramicus within the city, of which the agora was part; and extends into the surburb, beyond the Ilissus.

* By the gate, near the Mercury of the Agora, wine was sold, *Att. Lect.* p. 1884. That perhaps is the gate mentioned by Plutarch. τους δε οικειους θαπσαι τα οστα άμα λονεσι προ των Ἱππαδων πυλων. in *Hyperide.* βουλευτηριον τεχνιτων ὠκοδομηται παρα τας του Κεραμεικου πυλας ου πορρω των Ἱππειων. *Philostrat.* p. 577.

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The Pompeium was a building, in which all the necessaries for the solemn festivals were prepared, and the vessels of gold and silver were kept, to be delivered to the bearers appointed at the Panathenæan and other grand processions. The mention of this place, of Polytion, and of the Mercuries, will remind the classical reader of the enormities of Alcibiades. He made use of the consecrated plate at his table, and refused to restore it; he imitated the mysteries of Eleusis in the house of Polytion, wearing a stole and personating the hierophant or chief priest; and in the night defaced all the Mercuries, except one. In the Tholus, which was a round building, sometimes called Scias, were small images of silver, and there the magistrates, styled prytanes, sacrificed and feasted.

The portico of Jupiter Eleutherius and *the Royal* were near to each other. The statue of Jupiter Eleutherius was erected on the defeat of the Medes. The inscription gave him likewise the title of *Saviour*. Hadrian, who was ranked with him, had been, as Pausanias adds, a great benefactor to other cities of the empire, but above all to Athens. A pedestal now remains, as we supposed, in its place, at some distance from the temple of Theseus, in the way to the Piræus, almost buried in earth. After digging about it, we discovered the inscription, " To the Saviour and founder the emperor Hadrian Olympius."

The statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton were of brass, and very ancient. They had been carried away into Persia by Xerxes, and were restored to the Athenians by Alexander, after Darius was conquered. They were near five hundred years old, when it was decreed that Brutus and Cassius, the murderers of Cæsar, should be placed next them. Arrian,

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who lived under the emperor Antoninus, has recorded them as remaining by the way, which was then used, up to the acropolis, as nearly opposite to the Metróum, and not far from an altar of Eudanemus standing on the pavement, and known to persons, who had been initiated at Eleusis.

The royal portico seems to have ranged with Pœcile.* The paintings, in the latter, exhibited the Athenians and Lacædemonians drawn up in battle-array, about to engage, at Œnoe, near Argos. In the middle of the wall were the Athenians and Theseus fighting with the Amazons. Next these was the taking of Troy, with the kings assembled in council; Ajax, and, among the female captives, Cassandra, whom he had violated. Lastly, there was the battle of Marathon.

By the Hephæstéum, and Eurysacéum or Heroum of Eurysaces, near the agora, was the Colonus Agoræus, or *Hill of the Agora*; called also Misthius, from its being a place where servants were hired. It was behind the *long portico*, (probably *Pœcile* and the *Royal* united) and had given its name to that part, which was otherwise termed Melite. Eurysaces was son of Ajax, and had lived at Melite; as also Themistocles, who erected there a temple to Diana Aristobula, after vanquishing the Persian fleet at Salamis; and there was likewise the house of Phocion, and the Melanippéum or Heroum of Melanippus, son of Theseus. The extent of Melite is not defined; but it was contiguous with Cœle, for the Cimonian monuments in that region were near the Melitensian gate. It probably approached or comprised the theatre, as in Melite was a large house where the tragedians studied their parts;

* απο της Ποικιλης κα της του Βασιλεως Στοας εισιν οἱ Ἑρμαὶ καλουμενοι *Athen. Att.* p. 827.

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and it comprehended the Eleusinian, for in Milete Hercules was initiated into the lesser mysteries, and had a temple. Milete bordered on Colyttus.

The agora was a large open spot, subdivided into stations, for sellers of provisions and a variety of other articles, some of which were sheltered by sheds or standings from the sun. The city-guard, consisting of a thousand men, once had tents in the middle, but afterwards was removed to the Areopagus. It was surrounded with temples, porticoes, and statues, but the extent of it is not defined. The altars of Apollo and Cybele are placed in it; as also the statues of Conon and his son Timotheus. These two were near the Perischœnisma, a portion of it, by the altar of the twelve gods, consisting of an area of fifty feet, encompassed with a rope, the tribunal of the archon styled the king, who sate there with the other archons; a party of the guard preventing the approach of improper persons. Moreover, the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton were in the agora; and that of Solon, which stood before Pœcile. Lycurgus and Demosthenes, and the two patriots are also on record, as in the Ceramicus. Xenophon recommends, that at the public festivals, the Athenian cavalry should be marched round the agora, beginning from *the Mercuries;* and pay respect to the temples and statues of the gods, as they passed; and, when the circuit was finished, should gallop off in squadrons from *the Mercuries*, as far as the Eleusinium. The procession, he imagines, if so regulated, would prove highly pleasing to the deities, as well as to the spectators.

The altar of pity or philanthropy, in the agora, was exceedingly ancient. It was said, that the Heraclidæ had fled to it from Eurystheus, and that a herald, as he was dragging

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them from it, was slain by the ephebi or youth of Athens, who continued to wear mourning for the outrage to the time of Atticus Herodes, when the colour of their chlamys or cloke was changed from black to white. Of all the Greeks, the Athenians alone, Pausanias tells us, regarded this deity; as useful in the casualities of life and the manifold changes of human affairs. He remarks that the Athenians, who had established the duties of philanthropy, had also possessed more religion than any other people; and he adds, that such as had excelled in piety were attended in proportion by good fortune. The altar, which remained under Julian, has been described as shaded with trees, among which was an olive, known to suppliants, and laurels decked with fillets; as frequented by the wretched and ever wet with their tears; as hung with tresses of hair, and with the votive garments of persons who had been relieved.

CHAP. XIX.

Abstract of Pausanias—Of the temple of the Dioscuri and of Agraulos—Columns of different kinds of marble—Of the Delphinium—Of the temple of Venus in the gardens.

In the preceding chapter we have accompanied Pausanias from the gate Dipylon into the region called Agræ, whither he will now conduct us by a different way, on the opposite side of the acropolis, and, as it were, through the present town. He begins with the gymnasium of Ptolemy, and then notes the temple of Theseus, with the temple of Dioscuri; and, above it, that of Agraulos. The Prytanéum was near; and, going from it into the lower parts of the city,

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there was a temple of Serapis; and, not far from this, the place where Theseus and Pirithous made their fatal compact;* near which was a temple of Ilithya. This brings him to the temple of Jupiter Olympius dedicated with the statue by the emperor Hadrian, who had also erected temples of Juno and of Jupiter Panhellenius, and a pantheon, in which his acts were inscribed; and *there* were edifices richly adorned, and books, and the gymnasium of Hadrian. These buildings, it may be observed, were in new Athens. The peribolus or inclosure of the Olympiéum contained also a temple of Saturn and Rhea, and a sacred portion of the goddess styled Olympia. Near the Olympiéum was Apollo Pythius, and the Delphinium or temple of Apollo Delphinius; from which the author passes to the temple of Venus *in the gardens*, Cynosarges, the Lycéum, the Ilissus, and Erdanus, the region called Agræ, the temple of Diana, and the stadium.

The temple of the Dioscuri, which was called also the Anacéum, with that of Aglaros, stood on the hill of the acropolis near the front. The Persians under Xerxes endeavoured to set fire to the palisades, which then secured the entrance of the fortress; discharging arrows with burning flax from Areopagus; but got possession by climbing a precipice, before deemed inaccessible, beyond the gates, opposite to the temple of Aglauros. Pisistratus summoned the people to attend at the Anacéum, came forward from the acropolis, and addressed them in a low voice; while his guards removed their arms, unperceived, and secured them in the temple of Aglauros. It was in this temple the military oath was admi-

* Vide Sophocl. Oedip. v. 1588.

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nistered to the young Athenians, when they attained to the age of twenty years, and were enrolled among the citizens.

Among the ill-matched columns in the churches are several of the marble imported by Hadrian, for his pantheon and gymnasium. In the former were one hundred and twenty from Phrygia, and in the latter one hundred from Libya. The produce of the attic quarries is white; that of the Phrygian* white variegated with different colours.

Ægeus lived by the Delphinium; and in it was a spot fenced about, where, it was said, the cup fell with the poison, which, at the instigation of Medea, he tendered to Theseus, before he knew him to be his son. A Mercury to the east of the temple was called *The Mercury at the Gate of Ægeus.*

The temple of Venus *in the gardens* was without the walls, though not remote from the town, as may be inferred from the story of the Canephori. A church in the skirt of Athens, with an extensive court before it, perhaps now occupies the site. It is called Panagìa Spiliótissa, *St. Mary of the Cavern,* possibly from the subterraneous passage, which may still exist. On the outside in the wall is fixed an inscription relating to the temple of Venus, and recording the donations of a pious female, who gloried in the titles of candle-lighter, and interpreter of dreams to the goddess. It is imperfect at the beginning, but commemorates her offering the pediment over the chancel, and a Venus, perhaps a puppet, which she had made and dressed.

* See Ruins of Athens, p. 39.

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CHAP XX.

Abstract of Pausanias—The Prytanéum—Of the street called The Tripods and a monument remaining—Inscriptions—The Dionysium—Other temples—Of Pandion and of the goddess Rome, &c. in the acropolis—The fountain Empedo—Cessation of the magistracies at Athens—Of the Panathenæan procession.

PAUSANIAS returns again into the city, and begins from the Prytanéum, keeping the acropolis on his right hand nearer than before; a street called *The Tripods*, leading from the Prytanéum toward the theatre of Bacchus, by which was the most ancient temple of that god. The inclosure contained two temples, with two images. He then observes, that near the temple of Bacchus and the theatre was the structure formed in imitation of the tent of Xerxes, or the Odéum; and after mention of the Mithridatic war, and of the cruelty of Sylla in the Ceramicus, treats of the statues in the theatre, and notes on the south wall of the acropolis, which was toward it, a golden Ægis and head of Medusa offered by king Antiochus; and a cavern above the theatre, in the rock. He then goes on from the theatre to the front of the acropolis, marking on the way the tomb of Talos, a nephew and scholar of Dædalus, who, regarding him as a rival, pushed him down a precipice; the temple and fountain of Æsculapius; and, after it, the temple of Themis, before which was a barrow of Hippolytus, and a temple of Venus Pandemus. There was also the temple of Tellus Curotrophus and Ceres Chloe.*

* Vide *Sophocl. Oedip.* Επι Κολωνῳ, v. 1641.

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Pausanias then enters the acropolis, and, after treating of the Propyléa, mentions that he saw other articles there, and a temple of Diana Brauronia; describes the Parthenon, beyond which was a brazen Apollo; and, seeing a statue of Olympiodorus, digresses concerning the Museum, which hill was within the old city-wall; and returns to the Erecthéum and Pandroséum. Going down from the acropolis, not into the city beneath, but below the Propyléa, he takes notice of a fountain near the cave of Apollo and Pan, and of the Areopagus, by which was a temple of the Furies; enumerates the tribunals, which were several besides Delphinium, Heliæa, and the Palladium; observes of the vessel used in the Panathenæan procession, which was shewn by the Areopagus, that it was no longer a curiosity, but was much inferior to one at Delos; describes the Academy, a suburb near Dipylon; and proceeds to the demi or towns more remote from the city.

The Prytanéum was a large edifice, in which the magistrates, called Prytanes, met to deliberate, and a daily allowance was provided for those persons, who were entitled to their diet from the public. There was a statue of the goddess Peace, and of Vesta, with the perpetual fire. The building was thrown down by an earthquake in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war. At a church called *Great St. Mary*, in the town, is an ancient arch, some remains of excellent masonry, and three columns supporting an architrave; which ruin, from its situation, may, with great reason, be supposed to have been the Prytanéum. A large area, in which it stands, was inclosed with a wall, having the fourth side or front decorated with columns. Of this a considerable portion is entire, but much encumbered, and concealed by houses, magazines,

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and shops. It is published in *The Ruins of Athens*. The effect, in its present condition, is so striking, that it was long mistaken for the temple of Jupiter Olympius; but its magnificence, as has been justly remarked, is of a sober style, shewing the economy of a republic, rather than the profusion of an Asiatic king or Roman emperor.

The consecrated structures, which embellish the street called *The Tripods*, were probably noted for the offerings placed on them even more than for their own beauty. A fabric designed only to display a tripod did not admit of great dimensions. The choragic monument of Lysicrates, which is yet extant, near the eastern end of the hill of the acropolis, is but a small edifice, though exquisitely elegant. It may be seen, as in its original state, in *The Ruins of Athens*. The number of these fabrics was considerable, but that is the only one undemolished. During our residence at the French convent, it served as a closet for a Greek, the servant of the capuchin, to sleep in. The tripods were of brass and very valuable for their workmanship. There was the Satyr, which Praxiteles esteemed his master-piece; and on a cell or dome near it was a Satyr, a boy, giving a cup to Bacchus. It may appear no improbable conjecture that the monument of Lysicrates was intended to support the second tripod, for an analogy may be discovered between its subject and the sculpture on the frieze;* as at the monument of Thrasyllus, above the theatre of Bacchus, between the story on the tripod, and a statue of Niobe.

The destruction of the street called *The Tripods*, may justly

* See Ruins of Athens, Pl. X. XI. XXVI. Philostratus has described a picture, in which the transformation of the pirates was represented, p. 761.

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be regretted, as the monuments it contained were erected by eminent persons, and at an æra when arts and the republic flourished. If still extant, even their antiquity would deserve respect. The monument of Lysicrates, which remains, was constructed three hundred and thirty years before Christ. Thrasyllus was victorious only ten years after. I copied the inscription of one, erected before the introduction of the Ionic alphabet, which consisted of twenty-four letters, from a marble in the house of an Albanian woman near the convent. In this the common formulary is not completed; for the name of the archon, under whom the tripod was obtained, is omitted, though the stone is in good preservation, and room was not wanting. This circumstance enables us to ascertain the date to the first year of the xcivth Olympiad,* which the Athenians styled the year of anarchy; because the archon, not being duly elected, was disowned by them. Euclid succeeded in the following year, and the attic alphabet, which had only sixteen letters, prevailed until after his archonship. The inscription of another was found on a stone at the mouth of an oven. It is imperfect, but very old, the letters in rows and ranging at equal distances. On a Doric architrave over the gate of the bazar or market, near the ruin of the Prytanéum, is the inscription of one erected a year or two before that of Thrasyllus; and at the catholicon or cathedral is the inscription of one more early than that of Lysicrates by ten years. Another inscription, which we did not see, is published by Spon,* and refers to the first year of the cxiiith Olympiad.† Themistocles and Aristides dedicated tripods, with similar inscriptions, cited, but imperfectly, by Plutarch. These were in

* Before Christ, 402. † Before Christ, 426.

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attic characters. The choragic monument of Aristides, with the inscription and tripods, remained when Plutarch wrote; as did also that of the famous Nicias. Another belonged to Lysias, who, in an oration still extant, relates, that when Glaucippus was archon,* he provided a chorus of men for the Dionysia, and gained the victory; and that he expended, on the chorus and the consecration of his tripod, the sum of five thousand drachms, which has been computed at 208*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling.†

The Dionysium, or ancient temple of Bacchus, is often styled the temple *in Limnis*, that portion of the city being so named. It was kept shut, like the church now on or near its site, except at the Dionysia or festival of the deity, which was celebrated yearly in the month Anthesterion or February. The sacred rites were then performed by women, and *the Queen*, the wife of the archon called *the King*, sacrificed for the city.

It has been already remarked, that Pausanias appears to have passed from the theatre of Bacchus to the front of the acropolis, by a way leading behind the Odéum and the portico adjoining to it. The temple of Venus, standing by the agora, was probably lower down than the other temples. That of Ceres was an elegant edifice, as may be collected from a piece of architrave, with an inscription, which once ranged in the front, and recorded the name of the person, by whom it was dedicated; now fixed in the castle-wall, within the gate at which the Turkish guard is stationed.

Among *the other articles*, which Pausanias saw in the acropolis, was, it is probable, the temple or edifice sacred to Pan-

* Before Christ, 408. † Ruins of Athens, p. 30.

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dion, father of Erectheus, in which the inscribed marble, mentioned as having rolled down from the acropolis, was once placed. One statue of him was among those of the Eponymi or heroes, from whom the tribes had been named; and another, worthy notice, was in the acropolis; probably in this building, which may be supposed to have stood near the eastern extremity of the rock. A temple likewise was then extant, inscribed, "The People. To the goddess Rome and to Augustus Cæsar. Pammenes son of Xeno of Marathon, the priest of the goddess Rome and of Augustus the Saviour, in the acropolis, being strategus or general of the city.* A daughter of Asclepiades of Alæ being priestess of Minerva Polias, the most mighty. In the archonship of Areus son of Morio a Pæanian." The year in which this person was archon is not ascertained, but it coincides with the building of the temple, which was posterior to the year of Rome seven hundred and forty one. The inscription was copied, before Mahomet the second got possession of Athens, from the vestibule of a temple in the acropolis, then a church dedicated to the Panagia, or Virgin Mary.

Pausanias, after mentioning Enneacrunus as the only fountain at Athens, has yet recorded two more; one in the temple of Æsculapius, the other below the Propyléa. Both these, it is likely, were unserviceable, except for certain ablutions and purifications. The water of the latter is now conveyed to the principal mosque in the town for such uses.†

* Some for πολιτας read οπλιτας. See the inscription in *Fabricii Roma*, Gruter p. cv. ix. and in *Corsini Fast. Att.* t. 1, p. 42. This learned chronologer places Areus in the year U. C. 727, or in the following, t. 4. p. 140; but see *Chishull Antiq. Asiat.* p. 205. 207.

† v. Ruins of Athens, p. 15.

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It may be conjectured that the fountain stood anciently higher up toward the cave of Pan; and that the current, since intercepted, was continued into the temple of Æsculapius. There it disappeared; but emerged again, after running twenty stadia, or two miles and a half, underground toward Phalerum. It was first named Empedo, and then Clepsydra.

We have before remarked, that a writer, who lived under the two emperors named Theodosius, has mentioned the Areopagus as no longer a court of judicature. The first instance of a trial for murder there was said to have been furnished by a crime, which Halirrhotius, a son of Neptune, committed in the temple of Æsculapius, and which provoked Mars to kill him. Most of the other magistracies were likewise extinct; and in particular, the tribunal called Delphinian, the Heliæan, which was near the agora, the council of *Five Hundred*, and *the Eleven*; with the Polemarch, the Thesmothetæ, and the *annual* archon.

The procession at the Greater Panathenæa attended a peplus or garment, designed as an offering to Minerva Polias in the acropolis. This was woven by select virgins in various colours representing Minerva and Jupiter engaged with the Titans, and the exploits of Athenian heroes. It was extended as a sail to the vessel, which was moved by machinery. The procession formed in the Ceramicus without the city, and entering at Dipylon, passed between the porticoes, and through the agora; crossed the Ilissus, and going round the Eleusinium, returned by the Pelasgicon and the temple of Apollo Pythius, to the station of the vessel near the Areopagus; from whence, it may be inferred, the offering was carried by men up to the temple, the ascent to the Propyléa

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being long and steep. Harmodius and Aristogiton concealed each a poignard in a myrtle-bough, and waited to assassinate the tyrants, who regulated this solemnity, in the Ceramicus without the city; but, fearing they were betrayed, rushed in at Dipylon, and slew Hipparchus by the Leocorium or monument of the daughters of Leo, one of the Eponymi, which was in the middle of the inner Ceramicus. Demetrius, a descendant of the Phaleréan, that his mistress Aristagora, a courtezan of Corinth might enjoy the spectacle, erected for her a stage against the Mercuries.

CHAP. XXI.

Omissions in Pausanias—The tower of the Winds—Dance of the dervishes—A Doric portal; supposed the entrance of an agora—The Athenians given to flattery—Pausanias illustrated.

We have now completed the proposed survey of ancient Athens; but two structures yet remain, either omitted or mentioned inexplicitly by Pausanias. One is the tower of the winds or of Andronicus Cyrrhestes, which was in or near the street called *the Tripods*, and bearing some resemblance to the choragic monuments was perhaps overlooked by the author. The other is a Doric portal, situated at the foot of the hill of the acropolis, and once, it is likely, belonging to that agora, from which the gymnasium of Ptolemy was but a little distant. Besides these the Pnyx is unnoticed.

The tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes is a small edifice of marble, an octagon, decorated with sculpture representing the winds, eight in number; and has supported a Triton,

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which turned as a weathercock, and pointed with a wand to the wind then blowing. On the sides were sun dials to shew the hour of the day. It is mentioned by Varro and Vitruvius, and accurately published in *The Ruins of Athens*. A young Turk explained to me two of the emblems; that of the figure of Cæcias, as signifying that he made the olives fall; Sciron, that he dried up the rivers.

The tower of the winds is now a *teckeh*, or place of worship belonging to a college of dervishes. I was present, with my companions, at a religious function, which concluded with their wonderful dance. The company was seated on goat-skins on the floor cross-legged; forming a large circle. The chief dervish, a comely man, with a grey beard, and of a fine presence, began the prayers, in which the rest bore part, all prostrating themselves, as usual, and several times touching the ground with their foreheads. On a sudden, they leaped up, threw off their outer garments, and, joining hands, moved round slowly, to music, shouting *Alla*, the name of God. The instruments sounding quicker, they kept time, calling out *Alla. La illa ill Alla. God. There is no other God, but God.* Other sentences were added to these as their motion increased; and the chief dervish, bursting from the ring into the middle, as in a fit of enthusiasm, and letting down his hair behind, began turning about, his body poised on one of his great toes as on a pivot, without changing place. He was followed by another, who spun a different way, and then by more, four or five in number. The rapidity, with which they whisked round, was gradually augmented, and became amazing; their long hair not touching their shoulders but flying off; and the circle still surrounding them, shouting and throwing their heads backwards and forwards; the dome

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re-echoing the wild and loud music, and the noise as it were of frantic Bacchanals. At length, some quitting the ring and fainting, at which time it is believed they are favoured with extatic visions, the spectacle ended. We were soon after introduced into a room furnished with skins for sofas, and entertained with pipes and coffee by the chief dervish, whom we found, with several of his performers, as cool and placid, as if he had been only a looker-on.

The Doric portal may be seen in *The Ruins of Athens*, with its inscriptions. One of these informs us, that the people erected the fabric, with the donations made to Minerva Archegetis, or *the Conductress* by the god Julius Cæsar, and his son the god Augustus, when Nicias was archon. Over the middle of the pediment was a statue of Lucius Cæsar, styled the son of the god Augustus, it is supposed, on horse-back. At each angle was also a statue; probably of Augustus and of Julius Cæsar, or M. Agrippa, the natural father of Lucius. The goddess, Julia, daughter of Augustus, his mother, had likewise a statue; the pedestal remaining by one of the columns. Minerva was in great repute as a tutelary deity. Augustus Cæsar ascribed to her guidance his victory at Actium, and honoured her with a temple, in which he dedicated his Egyptian spoils.* She received at Athens a portion of plunder, both from him and from Julius, as an acknowledgement of her services. The strategus or general of the city-forces, Euclees of Marathon, acted as overseer of the building for his father Herodes. The great sophist Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes was also of Marathon; and in the

* *Chishull, Antiq. Asiat.* p. 201, p. 193. Lucius was adopted by Augustus eighteen years before the Christian Æra, and died in the second year after it.

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pavement of the portico of a house, which we inhabited for some months, between the portal and the remnant of the gymnasium of Ptolemy, was a pedestal with an inscription almost effaced, in which he is styled *Pontiff of the Augustan Deities.*

From the plan and proportions of the ruin it has been inferred, that the fabric, to which the portal belonged, was not a temple. An edict of the emperor Hadrian inscribed on the jamb of a door-case, regulating the sale of oil and the duties to be levied on it, has been urged in favour of the opinion, that the portal was the entrance of the inclosure of the agora or market-place mentioned by Strabo, who lived to about the twelfth year of Tiberius Cæsar, as in a district of the city called Eretria. The Athenians, reduced in number are supposed to have removed it from the Ceramicus, where the blood of the citizens had streamed, to a spot more central and convenient; and to have employed the donations to their goddess on a public work of general utility.

The Athenians were a people ever ready to offer up the incense of flattery. A sophist, a favourite of the emperor Trajan, expostulates in one of his orations with the Rhodians, on the injustice and absurdity of their conduct. They freely decreed the honorary statue. The prætor selected one out of the great number, which adorned their city. The name was erased, and it was inscribed to a new owner. The same method, he adds, was practised in other places and at Athens, which city deserved censure in many articles, and especially for its prostitution of public honours. He instances, the placing of the title Olympius on a noisy orator, a Phœnician, a native of an ignoble village; the placing the statue of a wretched poet, who had rehearsed at Rhodes, next to Menan-

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der; and a ridiculous inscription in compliment of Nicanor, the purchaser of the island Salamis. It was his opinion, that the Athenians had disgraced their city, and their predecessors; and, that the abject state of this people rendered Greece, of which it had been the head, an object of compassion.

Pausanias may be illustrated from this invective of the sophist. On entering Athens he observes near the temple of Ceres an equestrian statue, which represented Neptune throwing a spear at the giant Polybotes; but the inscription gave it then to another, and not to Neptune. The images of Miltiades and Themistocles in the Prytanéum were changed in the same manner into a Roman and a Thracian. The author has purposely concealed their names. The colossal statues of Attalus and Eumenes had been inscribed to Antony, and subverted by a hurricane. Of these he is silent. The statue of Menander graced the theatre of Bacchus; and he informs us in general that the images there were mostly of poets of inferior note. The presents bestowed by Julius Cæsar and Augustus did not reconcile the Athenians to their family. A few triremes, the remains of their navy, had been numbered in the fleet of Pompey. They had honoured Brutus and Cassius, joined Antony, and revolted from Augustus. Pausanias records the temples of Julius and Augustus in the agora of Sparta, but is reserved at Athens. In the Parthenon he knew the emperor Hadrian only. He could not for certain say, whether the equestrian statues before the acropolis were the sons of Xenophon, or others placed there for ornament. He affirms that evil having greatly increased and overspreading all countries and cities, no person, except in name and from flattery to his superior rank, was any longer converted

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from a man into a god. He did not relish the human deities. He found at Athens abundant evidence of its ancient splendour, and saw the city reflourishing under the auspices of the emperor Hadrian. He would not revive the memory of its depression, by enlarging on the monuments of its inconsistent adulation. He passes by the temple of Rome and Augustus in the acropolis; will not acknowledge the emperor and Agrippa at the entrance; nor describe a fabric founded on the munificence of the first Cæsars, and adorned with all the divinities of the Julian family.

CHAP. XXII.

Athens the seat of philosophy—The way to the Academy—Of the Academy—Of the Colonus Hippius—Gardens of Philosophers—The graves and sepulchres levelled—Site of the Academy.—Colonus Hippius—The river Cephissus.

ATHENS was the parent of philosophy as well as of eloquence. It had three celebrated gymnasia without the city, the Academy, the Lycéum, and Cynosarges; from which as many sects dated their origin, the Platonic, the Peripateric, and the Cynic; followers of Plato, of Aristotle, and Antisthenes. The stoic philosophy was instituted by Zeno in the stoa or portico named Pœcile, and the garden of Epicurus was in the city.

The Academy was in the suburb without Dipylon, and distant from the gate only six stadia, or three quarters of a mile. On the way to it was a small temple of Diana, to which the image of Bacchus Eleutherus was annually borne in procession; then the tomb of Thrasybulus; and a little out of the

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road, of Pericles, of Chabrias, Phormion, and the citizens who had died in battle, serving their country by sea or land. The public solemnized their obsequies, and they were honoured with funeral orations and games. The stelæ or pillars standing on the graves declared the name of each, and to what demos or borough he belonged. These perished honourably at different periods and in various actions. Some also of the Athenian allies were interred there, and Clisthenes, Conon, Timotheus, the philosophers Zeno and Chrysippus, Nicias an eminent painter, Harmodius and Aristogiton, the orator Ephialtes, and Lycurgus son of Lycophron, with many more of high renown. Not far from the Academy was the monument of Plato, and in this region was shewn the tower of Timon the man-hater. A miraculous tomb not far from Dipylon, on the left hand, is not mentioned by Pausanias. It was of earth, not large, and had on it a short pillar, which was always crowned with garlands. There Toxaris, a Scythian and physician, was buried. He was believed to continue to cure diseases, and was revered as a hero.

The Academy was once the possession of a private person, named Academus, who gave it to the people. Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, surrounded it with a wall. Cimon drained the low grounds near it. The spot, parched and squalid, was improved and rendered very pleasant. The walks were shaded with tall plane-trees, and cooled by running water. Before the entrance was an altar of Love; and, besides others, one of Prometheus, from which the race called Lampadophoria began. The winner was he who first reached the city with his lamp unextinguished. Plato commenced teaching at the Academy, then reputed unwholesome. Afterwards he

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preferred a small garden by the Colonus Hippius, his own property. The Lacedæmonians spared the Academy, when they ravaged Attica; but Sylla, wanting timber for machines, cut down the grove there and at the Lycéum. The successors of Plato enjoyed a considerable revenue, which, in the subsequent ages, was greatly augmented by legacies, from persons desirous of contributing to the leisure and tranquillity of the philosophic life.

Colonus Hippius, *the Equestrian Hill*, was beyond the Academy, and distant ten stadia, a mile and a quarter, from the city. There was an altar of *Equestrian* Neptune and Minerva, with an heroum or monument of Pirithous and Theseus, of Ædipus, and of Adrastus. It was affirmed, that the unhappy Theban, an exile and suppliant, had rested there in the sacred portion of the Furies; but Pausanias preferred the authority of Homer. The grove and temple of Neptune had been burned by Antigonus. Sophocles was born and lived at the Colonus, and there were the copper mines.

The little garden of Epicurus in the city was on the side toward Dipylon, and by the road to the Academy. The teacher of ease, it is recorded, was the first who introduced that species of gratification, the enjoyment of the country in town. The garden of the philosopher Melanthius was opposite to the statue of Minerva Pæonia, which is mentioned as the first in *the Mercuries*. It was in the way to the Academy; for Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, with some of his descendants, was buried in it at the public expense. On the graves were placed flat slabs with inscriptions. The Lacydéum or garden of Lacydes was in the Academy.

By the destruction of Dipylon and the city-wall we are deprived of the ancient boundaries of Athens; and the town,

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besides being reduced in its extent, furnishes a variety of avenues to the plain. Moreover, the mansions of the illustrious dead, like the bodies which they covered, are consumed, and have disappeared. Time, violence, and the plough have levelled all, without distinction; equally inattentive to the meritorious statesman, the patriot, the orator, and philosopher, the soldier, the artist, and physician. Atticus is described by Cicero as pleased with recollecting where the renowned Athenians had lived, or been accustomed to sit or dispute; and as studiously contemplating even their sepulchres. The traveller will regret, that desolation interferes, and by the uncertainty it has produced, deprives him of the like satisfaction; but, in the style of the ancients, to omit the research would merit the anger of the Muses.

It has been observed, that, without Dipylon, the road branched off toward the Piræus and Eleusis as well as the Academy. The road to the haven and to Eleusis divides now, not far from the temple of Theseus, and is nearly in the same direction as formerly. On the right hand of the Eleusinian road is a way, which leads to the site of the Academy. Achmet Aga had lately erected a house on or near it, with a large garden, and a plentiful fountain by the road-side, supplied, it is likely, by the channels which conduced to the coolness and verdure of the old suburb. Farther on is a rocky knoll, which was the Colonus Hippius. Some massive fragments of brick-wall occur there, with a solitary church or two.

In the plain beyond the *Equestrian Hill* is the Cephissus,* a muddy rivulet, turning some over-shot mills in its course through a rich and fertile track covered with gardens, olive-

* Κηφισσος εκ Τριτιαεων αρχας εχων. Strabo.

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trees, and vineyards. The stream anciently crossed the *Long-walls* in its way to the Phaleric shore, which also received the Ilissus. These waters, it is likely, formed the marsh. The Cephissus was very inconsiderable in the summer. It is now commonly absorbed, before it reaches the coast; except after melting snow or heavy rain rushing down from the mountains.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Lyceum—Cynosarges—Mention of them in Plato—The site.

We proceed now to the gymnasia on the other side of Athens, the Lyceum and Cynosarges.

The Lycéum was sacred to Apollo Lycius, a proper patron, as an ancient author has remarked, the god of health bestowing the ability to excel in gymnic exercises. The image represented him as resting after fatigue, with a bow in his left hand, his right arm bending over his head. The gymnasium was erected by Lycurgus, son of Lycophron. The militia of Athens paraded there, and were instructed in the management of their horses, shields and spears, in forming the phalanx, and in all the established modes of attack and defence. Behind the Lyceum was a monument of Nisus. The Lyceum was long noted for a plane-tree of uncommon size, which is described by Pliny, and was near a fountain by the road-side.

Cynosarges was but a little without the city-gate. There was a temple of Hercules. They related, that when Diomus

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was sacrificing to the hero, a white bitch had seized part of the victim, and carried it to this spot, where the altar was erected in obedience to an oracle, which had foretold that incident. On a summit near was the tomb of Isocrates. Philip, who reduced the city to require aid from the Romans, encamped by Cynosarges, and set fire both to that place and the Lyceum.

These gymnasia were near the Ilissus, which river flowed from the region beyond Agræ, the Lyceum, and the fountain celebrated by Plato;* the bed making a curve near the junction with the Eridanus. Phædrus has been described as going from a house by the temple of Jupiter Olympius toward the Lycéum, as turning out of the way with Socrates, and sitting down by Enneacrunus and the Ilissus, above the crossing over to the temple of Diana Agræa. In the dialogue entitled Lysis, Socrates passing from the Academy to the Lyceum by the way without the wall, and coming to the gate, where was the fountain of Panops, discovers over against the wall an inclosure with an open gate, which was a palæstra or place for exercises lately built. This probably belonged to Cynosarges. In another dialogue, going out of the city to Cynosarges, and approaching the Ilissus, he sees Clinias running toward Calirhoe, turns out of the way to meet him, and accompanies him, the way by the wall, to a house near the Itonian gate.†

* Strabo, p. 400. Hence Statius, *Amfractu riparum incurvus Ilissus.* Theb. l. iv. v. 52.

† The Itonian gate was by the pillar of the Amazon. In an account of the battle of Theseus with the Amazons it is related, that the left wing of their army was toward the Amazonéum, and the right toward Pnyx (προς την Πνυκα κατα την Χρυσαν ηκειν;) that on this side, the Athenians, who engaged from the Museum, were re-

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The Lyceum was beyond the Ilissus, and the crossing over is below that, which led to the temple of Diana Agræa. The site is now marked by a well and a church, and many large stones scattered about. Cynosarges was not far from the Lyceum; and perhaps on the same side of the Ilissus as the city, where is now a garden near this bed, and by the road. The artificial currents of water having ceased, the environs of Athens are become, except near Enneacrunus, more bare and naked than they were even after the devastations of Philip and Sylla.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the University of Athens—The Professors—Degrees—Dresses—Manner of entrance—Character and extinction of the Philosophers—Ruin of the University.

Athens maintained under the Romans its reputation for philosophy and eloquence, and continued, though subdued, the metropolis of learning, the school of art, the centre of

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pulsed, and that the tombs of the slain were by the broad-way leading to Dipylon, probably from the agora; but that those who attacked from the Palladium, Ardettus, and the Lyceum, drove the enemy to their camp; and that the pillar by the temple of Tellus Olympia was placed over the Amazon, who lived with Theseus, and is generally called Antiope. Pausanias informs us, that the goddess, surnamed Olympia, had a sacred portion within the wall of the Olympiéum; that the monument of Antiope was by the entrance of the city from Phalerum; and that the Athenians had also a tomb of Molpadia, another Amazon, by whom she was slain.

The monument by the city-gate, coming from the Piræus, of which Pausanias says, that he did not know to whom it belonged, was probably the Heroum of Chalcodon, for that is mentioned as near the Piræan gate. Ægeus, father of Theseus, espoused his daughter. *Meursius Att. Lect.* p. 1773. *De Regibus Ath.* p. 1108.

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taste and genius. The gymnasia and the gardens of the philosophers were decorated with the capital works of eminent masters, and still frequented. The fierce warrior was captivated by Greece and science, and Athens humanized and polished the conquerors of the world. But Sylla greatly injured the city, by transporting to Rome the public library, which had been founded by Pisistratus, carefully augmented by the people, removed by Xerxes into Persia, and restored long after by Seleucus Nicanor. The spirit of learning drooped on the loss; and the Roman youth, under Tiberius, were sent to study at Marseilles, instead of Athens. Even there the barbarous Gauls joined in the pursuit of eloquence and philosophy. The sophist, as well as the physician, was hired to settle among them; and the nation was civilized by the Greek city.

The emperor Hadrian embellished Athens with a noble library and a new gymnasium, and restored science to its ancient seat. Lollianus, an Ephesian, was first raised to the high dignity of the sophistical throne, which was afterwards filled by Atticus Herodes, and by other eminent and illustrious persons. The number of professors was increased by Antoninus the philosopher, who had studied under Herodes. His establishment consisted of thirteen; two Platonists, as many peripatetics, stoics, and Epicureans, with two rhetoricians and civilians; and a president, styled *Præfect of the Youth*. The student proceeded from the philosopher to the rhetorician, and then to the civilian. A yearly salary of six hundred *aurei*, or pieces of gold,* was annexed to each of

* About 468*l*. See W. Wotton's History of Rome. London 1701, p. 106, with the *Errata* and p. 169.

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the philosophical chairs; and one talent to those of the civilians. The professors, unless appointed by the emperors, were elected after solemn examination by the principal magistrates.

Education now flourished in all its branches at Athens. The Roman world resorted to its schools, and reputation and riches awaited the able preceptor. The tender mind was duly prepared for the manly studies of philosophy and eloquence. Age and proficiency were followed by promotion. The youth was advanced into the higher classes, enrolled with the philosophers, and admitted to their habit. The title of sophist was conferred on him, when mature in years and erudition; and this was an honour so much affected, that the attainment of it almost furnished an apology for insolent pride and extravagant elevation. It was a custom of the masters to inscribe on marble the names of their scholars, those of Attica ranged under their respective tribes; and also to what demos or borough each belonged. Some specimens of these registers are preserved in the Oxford collection, and many fragments are yet extant at Athens.

At this period Athens abounded in philosophers. It swarmed, according to Lucian, with clokes and staves and satchels; you beheld every where a long beard, a book in the left hand, and the walks full of companies, discoursing and reasoning. The cloke or tribonium was the habit of all the orders. The general colour was dark, but the cynic wore white, and, with the stoic, had the folds doubled. One shoulder was bare; the hair hanging down; the beard unshaven. The cynic, with the stoic and Pythagorean, was slovenly and negligent, his cloke in tatters, his nails long, and his feet naked. The cynic was armed with a staff, as a defence from

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dogs or the rabble. The sophist was adorned with purple, and commonly polished as well in dress and person as in manners and language. It behoved the professor, as Lucian affirms, to be handsomely clothed, to be sleek and comely, and above all to have a flowing beard inspiring those who approached him with veneration, and suitable to the salary he received from the emperor.

A learned father,* who was contemporary with Julian at Athens, has described the manner in which the novice was treated on his arrival there, with the ceremony of initiation. He was first surrounded by the pupils and partizans of the different sophists, all eager to recommend their favourite master. He was hospitably entertained; and afterwards the students were allowed to attack him with rude or ingenuous disputation, as each was disposed. This, the relater has surmised, was intended to mortify conceit, and to render him tractable. He was next to be invested with the habit. A procession in pairs, at equal distances, conducted him through the agora to a public bath, probably that without Dipylon by the monument of Anthemocrites. An opposition was feigned on their approach to the door, some calling out and forbidding his admission, some urging on and knocking. These prevailed. He was introduced into a warm cell, washed, and then clothed with the tribonium. He was saluted as an equal on his coming out, and re-conducted. No one was suffered to appear in that dress at Athens, without the permission of the sophists and this ceremony, which was attended with considerable expense.

The philosophers were long as distinguished by their aver-

* Gregorius Nazianzen. Orat. xx.

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sion to Christianity as by their garment. It is recorded of Justin Martyr, that he preached in the tribonium, to which he had been admitted before his conversion. Some monks also, whom the gentiles termed impostors, assumed it, uniting, with spiritual pride and consummate vanity, an affectation of singular humility and of indifference to worldly show. But the emperor Jovian commanding the temples to be shut, and prohibiting sacrifice, the prudent philosopher then concealed his profession, and relinquished his cloke for the common dress. The order was treated with severity by Valens his successor, because some of them, to animate their party, had foretold that the next emperor would be a gentile. They were addicted to divination and magic, and it was pretended, had partly discovered his name. The habit was not wholly laid aside. In the next reign, a sedition happened at Alexandria, when Olympius, a philosopher, wearing the cloke, was exceedingly active, urging the Gentiles to repel the reformers, and not to remit of their zeal or be disheartened because they were dispossessed of their idols; for the powers, which had inhabited them, were, he asserted, flown away into heaven. The heathen philosophers gradually disappeared; but the Christian, their successors, are not yet extinct, still flourishing in Catholic countries, and differing not less than the ancient sects, in dress, tenets, and rules of living.

The decline of philosophy must have deeply affected the prosperity of Athens. A gradual desertion of the place followed. Minerva could no longer protect her city. Its beauty was violated by the proconsul, who stripped Pœcile of its precious paintings. It was forsaken by good fortune, and would have lingered in decay, but the barbarians interposed, and suddenly completed its downfall. When the

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Goths were in possession of it in the time of Claudius, two hundred and sixty-nine years after Christ, they amassed all the books, intending, it is related, to burn them; but desisted, on a representation that the Greeks were diverted, by the amusements of study, from military pursuits. Alaric, under Arcadius and Honorius, was not afraid of their becoming soldiers. The city was pillaged, and the libraries were consumed. Devastation then reigned within, and solitude without its walls. The sweet sirens, the vocal nightingales, as the sophists are fondly styled, were heard no more. Philosophy and Eloquence were exiled, and their ancient seat occupied by ignorant honey-factors of Mount Hymettus.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the people of Athens—The Turkish government—The Turks—The Greeks—The Albanians—The archbishop—Character of the Athenians.

Athens, after it was abandoned by the Goths, continued, it is likely, for ages to preserve the race of its remaining inhabitants unchanged, and uniform in language and manners. History is silent of its suffering from later incursions, from wars, and massacres. Plenty and the prospect of advantage produces new settlers; but, where no trade exists, employment will be wanting, and Attica was never celebrated for fertility. The plague has not been, as at Symrna, a frequent visitant; because the intercourse subsisting with the islands and other places has been small, and the port is at a distance. The plague described by Thucydides began in the

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Piræus, and the Athenians at first believed that the enemy had poisoned the wells. If, from inadvertency, the infection be now admitted into the town, the Turks, as well as the Greeks, have the prudence to retire to their houses in the country, or to the monasteries, and it seldom prevails either so long or so terribly as in cities on the coast.

A colony of new proprietors was introduced into Athens by Mahomet the Second; but the people secured some privileges by their capitulation, and have since obtained more by address or money. The Turk has favoured the spot, and bestowed on it a milder tyranny. The Kislar Aga, or chief of the black eunuchs at Constantinople, is their patron; and by him the Turkish magistrates are appointed. The vaiwode purchases his government yearly, but circumspection and moderation are requisite in exacting the revenue, and the usual concomitants of his station are uneasiness, apprehension and danger. The impatience of oppression, when general, begets public vengeance. The Turks and their vassals have united, seized and cut their tyrants in pieces, or forced them to seek refuge in the mountains, or in the acropolis. An insurrection had happened not many years before we arrived, and the distress, which followed from want of water in the fortress, was described to us as extreme.

The Turks of Athens are in general more polite, social, and affable, than is common in that stately race; living on more equal terms with their fellow-citizens, and partaking, in some degree, of the Greek character. The same intermixture, which has softened their austerity, has corrupted their temperance; and many have foregone the national abstinence from wine, drinking freely, except during their Ramazan or Lent. Some too after a long lapse have re-assumed, and rigidly ad-

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here to it, as suiting the gravity of a beard, and a decorum of paternal authority. Several of the families date their settlement from the taking of the city. They are reckoned at about three hundred. Their number, though comparatively small, is more than sufficient to keep the Christians fully sensible of their mastery. The Turks possess from their childhood an habitual superiority, and awe with a look the loftiest vassal. Their deportment is often stern and haughty. Many in private life are distinguished by strict honour, by punctuality, and uprightness in their dealings; and almost all by external sanctity of manners. If they are narrow minded in the extreme, it is the result of a confined education; and an avaricious temper is a natural consequence of their rapacious government.

The Greeks may be regarded as the representatives of the old Athenians. We have related, that, on our arrival in the Piræus, an archon came from the city to receive us. The learned reader was perhaps touched by that respectable title, and annexed to it some portion of its classical importance; but the archons are now mere names, except a tall fur cap, and a fuller and better dress than is worn by the inferior classes. Some have shops in the bazar, some are merchants, or farmers of the public revenue. The families, styled archontic, are eight or ten in number; mostly on the decline. The person who met us, was of one reckoned very ancient, which, by his account had been settled at Athens, about three hundred years, or after Mahomet the Second. His patrimony had suffered from the extortions of a tyrannical vaiwode, but he had repaired the loss by trade, and by renting petty governments. The ordinary habit of the meaner citizens is a red skull-cap, a jacket, and a sash round the middle, loose breeches or trowsers,

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which tie with a large knot before, and a long vest, which they hang on their shoulders, lined with wool or fur for cold weather. By following the lower occupations, they procure, not without difficulty, a pittance of profit to subsist them, to pay their tribute-money, and to purchase garments for the festivals, when they mutually vie in appearing well-clothed, their pride even exceeding their poverty.

The lordly Turk and lively Greek neglecting pasturage and agriculture, that province, which in Asia Minor is occupied by the Turcomans, has been obtained in Europe by the Albanians or Albanese. These are a people remote from their original country, which was by the Caspian Sea, spreading over and cultivating alien lands, and, as of old, addicted to universal husbandry and to migration. It is chiefly their business to plough, sow, and reap; dig, fence, plant, and prune the vineyard; attend the watering of the olive-tree; and gathering the harvest; going forth before the dawn of day, and returning joyous on the close of their labour. If shepherds, they live on the mountains, in the vale, or the plain, as the varying seasons require, under harbours, or sheds covered with boughs, tending their flocks abroad, or milking the ewes and she-goats at the fold, and making cheese and butter to supply the city. Inured early to fatigue and the sun, they are hardy and robust, of manly carriage, very different from that of the obsequious Greek, and of desperate bravery under every disadvantage, when compelled by necessity or oppression, to unite and endeavour to extort redress. Their habit is simple and succinct, reaching to the knees. They have a national language, and are members of the Greek communion.

The Christians, both Greeks and Albanians, are more im-

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mediately superintended by the archbishop, and by the two epitropi or curators, who are chosen from among the principal men, and venerable for their long beards. These endeavour to quiet all disputes, and prevent the parties from recurring to the severe tribunal of the cadi or Turkish judge, watching over the commonweal, and regulating its internal polity, which still retains some faint and obscure traces of the ancient popular form, though without dignity or importance. The see was now possessed by Bartholomew, a Walachian, who had lately purchased it at Constantinople. He was absent when we arrived; but, on his return to Athens, sent us a present of fine fruit and of honey from M. Hymettus, and came to visit us at the convent, on horseback, attended by a virger and some of his clergy on foot. He was a comely and portly man, with a black thick beard.

A traditional story was related to us at Smyrna, and afterwards at Athens, to illustrate the native quickness of apprehension, which, as if transmissive and the property of the soil, is inherited even by the lower classes of the people. A person made trial of a poor shepherd, whom he met with his flock, demanding, απο του; και του; και πως; και ποσα. *From whence? and where? and how? and how many?* He was answered without hesitation and with equal brevity, απ' Αηνας, ως Ληβαδια, Θεοδωρος, και πεντακοσια. *From Athens, to Livadia, Theodore, and five hundred.* In the citizens this aptitude not being duly cultivated, instead of producing genius, degenerates into cunning. They are justly reputed a most crafty, subtle, and acute race. It has been jocosely affirmed, that no Jew can live among them, because he will be continually out-witted. They are conscious of their subjection to the Turk, and as supple as depressed, from the memory of the blows on the

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feet, and indignities which they have experienced or seen inflicted, and from the terror of the penalty annexed to resistance, which is the forfeiture of the hand uplifted; but their disposition, as anciently, is unquiet; their repose disturbed by factious intrigues and private animosities; the body politic weakened by division, and often impelled in a direction opposite to its true interest. They have two schools, one of which possesses a small collection of books, and is entitled to an annual payment from Venice, the endowment of a charitable Athenian, but the money is not regularly remitted.

CHAP. XXVI.

Care of the female sex at Athens—Dress of the Turkish women abroad—Of the Greek—Of the Albanian—Dress of the Greek at home—Manner of colouring the sockets of their eyes —Their education.

The liberty of the fair sex at Athens is almost equally abridged by the Turks and Greeks. Their houses are secured with high walls, and the windows turned from the street, and latticed, or boarded up, so as to preclude all intercourse, even of the eyes. The haram, or apartment of the Turkish women, is not only impenetrable, but must not be regarded on the outside with any degree of attention. To approach them, when abroad, will give offence; and in the town, if they cannot be avoided, it is the custom to turn to the wall and stand still, without looking toward them, while they pass. This mode of carriage is good breeding at Athens.

The Turkish women claim an exemption from their confinement on one day only in the week, when they visit their re-

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lations, and are seen going in companies to the baths, or sitting in the burying-grounds on the graves of their friends, their children, husbands, or parents. They are then enwrapped and beclothed in such a manner, it is impossible to discern whether they are young or old, handsome or ugly. Their heads, as low as the eye-brows, are covered with white linen, and also their faces beneath; the prominency of the nose and mouth giving them nearly the visages of mummies. They draw down a veil of black gause over their eyes, the moment a man or boy comes in view. They wear short loose boots of leather, red or yellow, with a large sheet over their common garments, and appear very bulky.

The dress of the Greek matrons is a garment of red or blue cloth, the waist very short, the long petticoat falling in folds to the ground. A thin flowing veil of muslin, with a golden rim or border, is thrown over the head and shoulders. The attire of the virgins is a long red vest, with a square cape of yellow satin hanging down behind. They walk with their hands concealed in the pocket-holes at the sides, and their faces are muffled. Sometimes they assume the Turkish garb. Neither prudence nor modesty suffers a maiden to be seen by the men before she is married. Her beauty might inflame the Turk, who can take her legally, by force, to his bed, on a sentence of the cadi or judge; and the Greek, if she revealed her face to him even unwillingly, would reject her as criminal and with disdain.

The Albanian women are inured early to hard living, labour, and the sun. Their features are injured by penury, and their complexions by the air. Their dress is course and simple; a shift reaching to the ancles, a thick sash about the waist, and a short loose woollen vest. Their hair is platted in two

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divisions, and the ends fastened to a red silken string, which, with a tassel, is pendant to their heels, and frequently laden with pieces of silver coin, of various sizes, diminishing gradually to the bottom. Among these the antiquarian may often discover medals of value. They are seen carrying water on their backs, in earthen jars, with handles; washing by the fountains, or assembled by the Ilissus after rain, with the female slaves of the Mahometans and other servants; treading their linen, or beating it with a piece of heavy wood, spreading it on the ground or bushes to dry, and conveying it to and fro in panniers or wicker-baskets on an ass. Their legs and feet are generally bare; and their heads hooded, as it were, with a long towel, which encircles the neck, one extremity hanging down before and the other behind. The girls wear a red skull-cap platted with peraus or Turkish pennies of silver perforated, and ranged like the scales of fish.

The Greek will sometimes admit a traveller into his gynecæum, or the apartment of his women. These within doors, are as it were uncased, and each a contrast of the figure she made when abroad. There the girl, like Thetis, treading on a soft carpet, has her white and delicate feet naked; the nails tinged with red. Her trowsers, which in winter are of red cloth, and in summer of fine calico or thin gause, descend from the hip to the ancle, hanging loosely about her limbs; the lower portion embroidered with flowers, and appearing beneath the shift, which has the sleeves wide and open, and the seams and edges curiously adorned with needle-work. Her vest is of silk, exactly fitted to the form of the bosom, and the shape of the body, which it rather covers than conceals, and is shorter than the shift. The sleeves button occasionally to the hand, and are lined with red or yellow satin.

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A rich zone encompasses her waist, and is fastened before by clasps of silver gilded, or of gold set with precious stones. Over the vest is a robe, in summer lined with ermine, and in cold weather with fur. The head-dress is a skull-cap, red or green, with pearls; a stay under the chin, and a yellow forehead-cloth. She has bracelets of gold on her wrists; and, like Aurora, is rosy-fingered, the tips being stained. Her necklace is a string of zechins, a species of gold coin, or of the pieces called Byzantines. At her cheeks is a lock of hair made to curl toward the face; and down her back falls a profusion of tresses, spreading over her shoulders. Much time is consumed in combing and braiding the hair after bathing, and, at the greater festivals, in enriching and powdering it with small bits of silver gilded, resembling a violin in shape, and woven in at regular distances. She is painted blue round the eyes; and the insides of the sockets, with the edges on which the lashes grow, are tinged with black. The Turkish ladies wear nearly the same attire, and use similar arts to heighten their natural beauty.

For colouring the lashes and socket of the eye, they throw incense or gum of Labdanum on some coals of fire, intercept the smoke, which ascends with a plate, and collect the soot. This I saw applied. A girl, sitting cross-legged as usual, on a sofa, and closing one of her eyes, took the two lashes between the fore-finger and thumb of her left hand, pulled them forward and then thrusting in, at the external corner, a bodkin, which had been immersed in the soot, and extracting it again, the particles before adhering to it, remained within, and were presently ranged round the organ; serving as a foil to its lustre; besides contributing, as they say, to its health, and increasing its apparent magnitude.

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The improvement of the mind and morals is not considered as a momentous part of female education at Athens. The girls are taught to dance, to play on the Turkish guitar, and the tympanum or timbrel, and to embroider, an art in which they generally excel. A woman skilled in reading and writing is spoken of as a prodigy of capacity and learning. The mother of Osman Aga, a Turk who frequented our house, was of this rare number, and, as he often told us, so terrible for her knowledge, that even Achmet Aga her kinsman had been seen to tremble, when he received her annual visit. In common life the woman waits on her husband, and, after dressing the provisions, which he purchased, eats perhaps with a female slave; the stately lord feeding alone, or in company with men.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the territory of Athens—The olive-groves—Bees—Provisions—Birds—Hare-calling—Wild beasts—The horned owl—A water-spout—Ancient prognostics of the weather—Sting of a scorpion.

The territory of Athens was anciently well peopled. The demi or boroughs were in number one hundred and seventy four; scattered, except some constituting the city, about the country. Frequent traces of them are found; and several still exist, but mostly reduced to very inconsiderable villages. Many wells also occur on Lycabettus, at the Piræus, in the plain, and all over Attica. Some are seen in the vineyards and gardens nearly in their pristine state; a

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circular rim of marble, about a yard high, standing on a square pavement; adorned, not inelegantly, with wreathed flutings on the outside; or plain, with mouldings at the top and bottom; the inner surface deep-worn by the friction of ropes. The bucket is a kettle, a jar, or the skin of a goat or kid distended; close by is commonly a trough or hollow stone, into which they pour water for the cattle. The city was supplied with corn from Sicily and Africa; and the regard of the emperors and kings, its patrons, was displayed in largesses of wheat and barley to be distributed, generally in the Odéum. At present, Attica is thinly inhabited, and probably produces grain sufficient for the natives; but the edicts prohibiting exportation are continually eluded, and public distress bordering on famine ensues almost yearly.

The olive-groves are now, as anciently, a principal source of the riches of Athens. The wood of these trees, watered by the Cephissus, about three miles from the city, has been computed at least six miles long. The mills, for pressing and grinding the olives, are in the town. The oil is deposited in large earthen jars, sunk in the ground in the areas before the houses. The crops had failed for five years successively when we arrived. The cause assigned was a northerly wind called greco tramontano, which destroyed the flower. The fruit is set in about a fortnight, when the apprehension from this unpropitious quarter ceases. The bloom in the following year was unhurt, and we had the pleasure of leaving the Athenians happy in the prospect of a plentiful harvest. By a law of Solon no tree could be planted less than five feet, nor an olive or fig-tree less than nine feet from one of another proprietor.

The honey, as well as the oil of Attica, was anciently in

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high repute. Many encomiums are extant on that of Hymettus, in particular, and it deserves them all. Flies are remarked to buzz about it, without settling, which has been attributed to the odour it derived from thyme. The race of bees was said to have been originally produced in Hymettus, and to have swarmed from thence in numerous colonies to people other regions. The mountain furnishes a succession of aromatic plants, herbs and flowers, peculiarly adapted to maintain them, both in summer and winter. The hives are set on the ground in rows inclosed within a low wall. Their form and management, and the method of taking the comb without destroying the insects, has been described.* By a law of Solon, no person was allowed to place a stand within three hundred yards of one, before established.

Provisions of all kinds are good and cheap at Athens. The frequent and severe fasts, imposed by the Greek church, have an influence on the market. The Christians are often confined to vegetables, or to things without blood; such as snails, which they gather from the shrubs, the cutle-fish, or the sea-polypus. The latter called by the Greeks octopodes, from the number of its feet, is beaten to make it tender; and, when boiled, is white, like the tail of a lobster, but has not much flavour. Hares, game, and fowl, may be purchased for little more than the value of the powder and shot. Oranges, lemons, and citrons grow in the gardens. The grapes and melons are excellent, and the figs were celebrated of old. The wines are wholesome; but the pitch, infused to preserve them, communicates a taste, to which strangers are not presently reconciled.

* Wheler, 411.

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When the figs ripen, a very small bird, called by the Italians beccafico, by the Greeks sycophas, appears, and is continually settling on the branches of the tree and pecking the fruit. If frightened away, they return almost immediately, and a person sitting in the corn, or concealed by a thicket, may fire with little intermission. They are eaten roasted entire each in a vine-leaf, and are a delicacy. When the olives blacken, vast flights of doves, pigeons, thrushes, and other birds repair to the groves for food. Wild turkies are not rare. The red-legged partridge, with her numerous brood, basks in the sun, or seeks shade among the mastic bushes. They are fond of the berries in the season, and have then a strong but not disagreeable taste. In winter, woodcocks abound; descending, after snow on the mountains, into the plain, especially on the side of the Cephissus, and as suddenly retiring. If the weather continue severe, and the ground be frozen, they enter the gardens of the town in great distress, rather than cross the sea; and are sometimes taken with the hand. Snipes teal, widgeon, ducks, and the like, are also found in plenty. A horse or ass is commonly provided by sportsmen, who go in a party to bring home what they kill.

Hares are exceedingly numerous. Calling is practised in still weather, from the latter end of May to about the middle of August. Three or four men in a company stand silent and concealed in a thicket, with guns pointed in different directions. When all are ready, the caller applies two of his fingers to his lips, and sucking them, at first slowly and then faster, produces a squeaking sound; when the hares within hearing rush to the spot. In this manner many are slaughtered in a day. One of my companions, with Lombardi, a Turk and Greek or two, who were adepts, killed eleven;

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among which was a female big with young. These animals are said to assemble together, to leap and play, at the full of the moon; and it is likely the shepherds, who live much abroad, observing and listening to them, learned to imitate their voices, to deceive, and make them thus foolishly abet their own destruction.

The wild beasts, which find shelter in the mountains, greatly annoy the shepherds; and their folds are constantly guarded by several large fierce dogs. The person, who killed a wolf, was entitled by a law of Solon to a reward; if a male to one drachm, about seven-pence half-penny; if female, to five drachms. Afterwards a talent, or one hundred and eighty pounds sterling, was paid for a young wolf; and double that sum for one full grown. The peasant now produces the skin in the bazar or market, and is recompensed by voluntary contributions. Parnes, the mountain toward the Cephissus, is haunted, besides wolves, by deer and foxes, as it formerly was by wild boars and bears. The sportsmen lie in ambush by the springs which they frequent, waiting their approach in the dusk of the evening. Pliny* mentions the deer bred about Parner and Brilessus, as remarkable for four kidneys, and the hares as having two livers.† The latter peculiarity in some, which we purchased, was much noticed by our Swiss, who once brought the two livers, for my inspection, on a plate. The youth of Athens were anciently trained to hunting as a manly and useful exercise.

The favourite bird of Minerva was the large horned owl.

* l. 11. c. 37.

† The partridges of Paphlagonia were found to have two hearts, and the hares at Bisaltia two livers. A. Gellius, p. 906.

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The Athenians stamped its effigy on their coin, and placed it, as her companion, in her temple in the acropolis. We had not been long at the convent before a peasant brought us one alive, with the wing broken. This recovered, and was much visited during our stay, as a novelty. Afterwards I saw another, flying, in the day-time. They are as ravenous as eagles, and, if pressed by hunger, will attack lambs and hares. On leaving Athens, we set our venerable and voracious prisoner at liberty, not without fear that, after so long confinement, he would be unable to procure food, or, being unwieldy, to escape the wild beasts, which prowl nightly in quest of prey.

About the middle of October, while we resided at the convent, I had the satisfaction of seeing distinctly the phænomenon, called a water-spout, from the window of my apartment, which looked toward the sea. The weather had changed from settled and pleasant, and clouds resided on the mountains, black and awful, particularly on Hymettus, whose side and tops were covered. About seven in the morning, when I rose, a cloud, tapering to a point, had descended in the gulf, between the islands Ægina and Salamis. Round it, at the bottom, was a shining mist. After a minute or more, it began gradually to contract itself, and retired very leisurely up again into the sky. We had little rain this day, but at night pale lightning flashed at short intervals, and thunder, bursting over our heads, exceedingly loud, rolled tremendously, and it poured down as from open sluices. The quantity of water, which fell, was answerable to the long and visible preparation, but seasonable; seed time approaching.

Athens has, on the west side of the plain, the mountains Ægaleos and Parnes, now called Daphne-vouni and Casha; on the north, Brilessus or Nozea; on the north-east, about

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six miles distant, Pentele; and next the Ægean Sea, Hymettus or Telo-vouni. The latter has a gap in it, dividing the greater from the lesser mountain, which is toward the south, and was formerly called Anydrus, from its being destitute of water. The clouds attracted by some of these mountains anciently furnished a variety of prognostics of the weather. A small cloud in the hollow of Anydrus, or white clouds, in summer, above the greater or lesser mountain, and on the side of Hymettus, portended rain. If in the night a long white cloud girded it, beneath the top, the rain generally continued for some days. A long cloud resting on Hymettus, in winter, pre-signified a violent storm. At the setting of the seven stars, called Vergiliæ, lightning about Parnes, Brilessus, and Hymettus, if all were comprehended, denoted a great storm; if two, a less; but, if Parnes alone, serene weather. A storm ensued, if clouds enveloped that portion of Parnes, which was toward Zephyrus, or the west. It was observed also, that a cloud resting on Ægina, and above the temple of Jupiter Panhellenius there, was commonly followed by rain.

A day or two after the storm before-mentioned, the capuchin, as we were conversing by the window of his apartment, put his hand incautiously on the frame, and, suddenly withdrawing it, complained of a painful puncture. A Turk, who was with us, on examining the wall, found a scorpion of a pale green colour, and near three inches long, which he crushed with his foot, and bound on the part affected, as an antidote to its own poison. The smart became inconsiderable, after the remedy was applied; and, as no inflammation followed, soon ceased. The sting, if neglected, produces acute pain, attended with a fever and other symptoms for several hours,

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until the paroxysm is over, when the malignancy of the virus as it were decaying, the patient is left gradually free. Some preserve scorpions in oil in a vial, to be used if that which commits the hostility should escape; though it seldom happens but on turning up a log or stone another may be found to supply its place. This was the only one I ever saw at Athens, within doors. We supposed it had entered at the window for shelter, and tō avoid the danger of being drowned by the flood..

CHAP. XXVIII.

We remove from the convent—A Turk described—The Athenians civil to us—A Turkish foot-race and wrestling-match—Dance of the Arabian women—Greek dances—Marriages of the Turks—Of the Greeks—Of the Albanians—Funeral ceremonies—No learning—Credulity and superstition.

We were instructed by the Committee of *Dilettanti* not to interfere at Athens with the labours of Messrs. Stuart and Revet, but solely to attend to those articles, which they had either omitted, or not completed. With this restriction we soon perceived, that we had matter to detain us much longer than had been expected. After some weeks the prospect of a speedy conclusion continuing distant, we removed from the convent to a large and commodious house, belonging to one of the archons. It had many trap doors and hiding-places, and, standing detached, was called (νησὶ) *the island.*

A place where the fair sex bears no part in society, will be justly supposed dull and uniform. Indeed, a Turk is gene-

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rally a solemn, solitary being; with few visible enjoyments, except his pipe and coffee. The former is his constant companion. It is his solace on the sofa; and, when squatting on his hams, as he is sometimes seen, in the shade by the door of his house; or in a group, looking on, while the horses, which are staked down with a rope, feed in the season on the green corn. When he is walking or riding, it is carried in his hand, or by an attendant. The tube is of wood perforated, commonly long and pliant, and sometimes hung with small silver crescents and chains, with a mouth-piece of amber. The bole is earthen, and a bit of aloe-wood put into it, while he is smoking, augments his pleasure, yielding a grateful perfume. A silken embroidered bag is usually tucked in at his sash, by his side, and contains tobacco. His horse, his arms, and harám are the other chief objects of his attention. He is grave, sententious, and steady; but fond of narrations, and not difficult to be overcome by a story.

The Turks, observing that we did not use the sign of the cross, and being informed that we disapproved of the worshipping of pictures or images, conceived a favourable opinion of us. Their abhorrence of hog-flesh is unfeigned, and we derived some popularity from a report, which we did not contradict, that we held it in equal detestation. Several of them frequented our table. The principal Turks came all to our house at night, while it was Ramazan, or Lent, when they fast in the day-time; and were entertained by us with sweet-meats, pipes, coffee, and sherbet much to their satisfaction, though distressed by our chairs; some trying to collect their legs under them on the seats, and some squatting down by the sides. When we visited them, we were received with cordiality, and treated with distinction. Sweet gums were

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burned in the middle of the room, to scent the air; or scattered on coals before us, while sitting on the sofa, to perfume our mustaches and garments; and, at the door, on our departure, we were sprinkled with rose-water. The vaiwode at certain seasons sent his musicians to play in our court. The Greeks were not less civil, and at Easter we had the company of the archons in a body. Several of them also eat often with us; and we had daily presents of flowers, sometimes perfumed, of pomegranates, oranges and lemons fresh gathered, pastry, and other like articles.

The Turks have few public games or sports. We were present at a foot race, and at a wrestling match, provided by a rich Turk, for the entertainment of his son and other boys, who were about to be circumcised. A train, headed by the vaiwode and principal men on horses richly caparisoned, attended the boys, who were all neatly dressed, their white turbans glittering with tinsel ornaments, to a place without the city, where carpets were spread for them on the ground, in the shade, and a multitude of spectators waited silent and respectful. The race was soon over, and the prizes were distributed; to the winner a sufficient quantity of cloth for an upper garment, to the next a live sheep, to the third a kid, to the fourth a huge water-melon. The company then removed to a level spot near the ruin of the temple of Jupiter Olympius, and formed a large circle. The wrestlers were naked, except a pair of close drawers, and were anointed all over with oil.

Some Arabians and black slaves, who had obtained their freedom, and were settled at Athens, had a feast on the performance of the rite of circumcision. The women danced in a ring, with sticks in their hands, and turning, in pairs, clashed

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them over their heads, at intervals, singing wildly to the music. A couple then danced with castenets; and the other swarthy ladies, sitting cross-legged on a sofa, began smoking.

Athens was anciently enlivened by the choruses singing and dancing in the open air, in the front of the temples of the gods, and round their altars, at the festival of Bacchus and on other holidays. The Greeks are frequently seen engaged in the same exercise, generally in pairs, especially on the anniversaries of their saints, and often in the areas before their churches. Their common music is a large tabor and pipe, or a lyre and tympanum or timbrel. Some of their dances are undoubtedly of remote antiquity. One has been supposed* that which was called the crane, and was said to have been invented by Theseus, after his escape from the labyrinth of Crete. The peasants perform it yearly in the street of the French convent, at the conclusion of the vintage; joining hands, and preceding their mules and asses, which are laden with grapes in panniers, in a very curved and intricate figure; the leader waving a handkerchief, which has been imagined to denote the clew given by Ariadne. A grand circular dance, in which the Albanian women join, is exhibited on certain days near the temple of Theseus; the company holding hands and moving round the musicians, the leader footing and capering until he is tired, when another takes his place. They have also choral dances. I was present at a very laborious single dance of the mimic species, in a field near Sedicui in Asia Minor; a goat-herd assuming to a tune, all the postures and attitudes of which the human body seemed capable, with a rapidity hardly credible.

Marriages are commonly announced by loud music at the

* Le Roy, p. 22.

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house of the bridegroom. A Turk or Greek neither sees nor speaks to the maiden beforehand, but for an account of her person and disposition relies on his female relations, who have opportunities of seeing her in their visits and at the bath. The Turk, when terms are adjusted with her family, ratifies the contract before the cadi or judge, and sends her presents. If he be rich, a band of musicians precedes a train of peasants, who carry each a sheep, lamb or kid, with the horns gilded, on their shoulders; and these are followed by servants, with covered flaskets on their heads, containing female ornaments, money, and the like, for her use; and by slaves to attend her. Years often intervene before he requires her to be brought to his home. The streets, through which she is to pass, are then left free; and she is conducted to his house, under a large canopy surrounded by a multitude of women, all wrapped in white, with their faces muffled. If a Turk finds a pair of papouches or slippers at the door of his harám, it is a sign that a stranger is within, and he modestly retires. That apartment is even a sanctuary for females flying from the officers of justice.

A papas or priest reads a service at the Greek weddings, the two persons standing and holding each a wax-taper lighted. A ring and gilded wreath or crown is used; and, at the end of the ceremony, a little boy or girl, as previously agreed on, is led to the bride, and kisses her hand. She is then as it were enthroned in a chair, and the husband remains at a respectful distance, with his hands crossed, silent and looking at her; until the women enter and take her away, when the men carouse in a separate apartment. Her face and hands are grossly daubed over with paint; and one, which I saw, had her forehead and cheeks bedecked with leaf-gold.

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The Albanians convey the bride to the house of her husband in procession, on horseback, with a child astride behind her, a loose veil or canopy concealing her head and face, her fingers laden with silver rings, and her hands painted red and blue in streaks. Their dress is a red jacket handsomely embroidered, with a coloured turban. I was present at one of their entertainments, which consisted of a great variety of dishes, chiefly pastry, ranged under a long low arbour made with boughs; the company sitting on the ground. When the bride is to be removed to a place at a distance, some women dance before her to the end of the town.

The wife of a Turk, who lived near us, dying, we were alarmed on a sudden with a terrible skriek of women, and with the loud expostulations of the husband. She was carried to the grave at day-break. The Greeks bury in their churches, on a bier. The bones, when room is wanting, are washed with wine in the presence of the nearest male relation, and then removed. I was at a funeral entertainment provided by one of the archons, whose daughter had been recently interred. The procession set out from his house, before sunrise, headed by a papas or priest and some deacons, with lighted candles; the women, who were left behind, screaming and howling. One man bore a large wax-taper, painted with flowers, and with the portrait of the deceased in her usual attire, and hung round with a handkerchief of her embroidering, in gathers. Two followed, carrying on their heads each a great dish of parboiled wheat; the surface, blanched almonds disposed in the figure of a dove, with gilding and a border of raisins and pomegranate-kernels. These, on our arrival at the church, were deposited over the body. The matins ended with a service appropriated to this ceremony,

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and read by the priest near the spot. The dishes were then brought round, and each person in his place took a portion, and was afterwards helped in turn to a small glass of white brandy, called rakí, or of wine. The wax-taper with the handkerchief, was suspended from the ceiling, as a memorial of the girl represented on it; and some peraus or silver pennies were distributed to the poor who attended.

The Turks are a people never yet illuminated by science. They are more ignorant than can easily be conceived. Athens now claims no pre-eminence in learning. The leisure of the Greeks is chiefly employed in reading legendary stories of their saints, translated into the vulgar tongue. This and their nation they style *the Roman*. It has a close affinity with the ancient language, which they call the Hellenic; but the grammar and syntax are much corrupted. They speak rapidly, and curtail many of their words, which are farther depraved by incorrect spelling. Their pronunciation differs widely from the English. They have no knowledge of the old quantity of syllables, but adhere to the accents, and compose verses in rhyme with great facility. I inquired for manuscripts, and was told of some belonging to the monastery of St. Cyriani on Mount Hymettus. These were shewn me, with several books printed by Aldus, negligently scattered on the floor in a loft at Athens, where the hegumenos or abbot resided. I wished to purchase the manuscripts, but the consent of the archbishop and of some of his brethren was necessary; and unfortunately the former, who had been forced to fly, was not re-instated in his see before we left the place.

Credulity and superstition prevail at Athens and all over the east. The traveller may still hear of Medeas, women possessed of magic powers, and expert in various modes of

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incantation. Amulets or charms are commonly worn to repel any malignant influence. Children are seen with crosses, or thin flat bits of gold, called phylacteries, hanging about their necks or on their foreheads. The Turks inscribe words from the Koran. The Greeks confide in holy water, which is sprinkled on their houses yearly by a priest, to purify them, and to drive away any dæmon, who may have obtained entrance. The insides of several of their churches are covered with representations of the exploits of their saints, painted on the walls; extravagant, ridiculous, and absurd beyond imagination. The old Athenian had a multitude of deities, but relied chiefly on Minerva; the modern has a similar troop headed by his favourite Panagia. He listens with devout humility to fanciful tales of nightly visions, and of miracles vouchsafed on the most trivial occasions. The report is propagated, and if, on examination, the forgery be detected on the spot, the remoter devotee continues in his conviction, and exults in the contemplation of the solid basis, on which he conceives his faith to be founded. In the first year of our residence in the Levant, a rumour was current, that a cross of shining light had been seen at Constantinople, pendant in the air over the grand mosque, once a church dedicated to St. Sophia; and that the Turks were in consternation at the prodigy, and had endeavoured in vain to dissipate the vapour. The sign was interpreted to portend the exaltation of the Christians above the Mahometans; and this many surmised was speedily to be effected; disgust and jealousy then subsisting between the Russians and the Porte, and the Georgians contending with success against the Turkish armies. By such arts as these are the wretched Greeks preserved from despondency, roused to expectation, and consoled beneath the

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yoke of bondage. The traveller, who is versed in antiquity, may be agreeably and usefully employed in studying the people of Athens.

CHAP. XXIX.

We continue at Athens—Account of Lombardi—The archbishop forced to fly—Distress from want of corn—Intrigues of Lombardi.

Our stay at Athens was prolonged by unforeseen obstacles, which were to be surmounted, as they arose, before our business could be completed. Some buildings required ladders so long and strong, it was difficult to procure fit materials, or even a workman capable of making them. Several figures could be drawn only from a particular terrace, or the window of a house, and a churlish or rapacious owner was to be satisfied. The Ramazan or Lent of the Turks, and the bairam or holidays, interfered. We encountered many a vexatious delay, and our residence became irksome as well from the continual apprehension of some untoward accident, or ensnaring treachery, as from our detestation of Lombardi, who haunted our house, and, by his hateful presence, and by discourse, which was impure, indelicate, and impious, in the highest degree, polluted and poisoned every enjoyment.

Lombardi was said to have been a priest, and to have robbed the altars of the church. He had fled from his country, it was certain, to avoid the punishment of some crime of a most atrocious nature. He was acquainted with the Latin language, had some knowledge of medicine, and had lived with

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several bashas and great Turkish officers as their physician. He had signalized his courage and conduct in dangerous expeditions against banditti and insurgents; which services had been rewarded with money, horses, and garments lined with skins. He possessed uncommon address, eloquence, profligacy, hypocrisy. He had been a pretended proselyte to the Greek communion, and had written a book in Italian, entitled "*Truth the Judge. By Father Bentzoni, a Jesuit and convert to the true Oriental church;*" of which a translation into the vulgar Greek, with ludicrous cuts, was printed at Johannina, a city of Epirus, and dispersed over Turkey. The malignancy of this lampoon on Christianity was so concealed, that for some time the author was reputed a champion for the pure faith of the Greeks. He had also composed a long and bitter invective against an archbishop of Larissa in Thessaly. He had been imprisoned at Athens, and had obtained his release with difficulty, by tears, intreaties, and the interposition of the Turks. This usage, however deserved, had made him outrageous, and revenge was his highest gratification. He had employed the most unjustifiable means to compass the downfall, and even the deaths of his principal enemies. He was recently returned from Constantinople, and boasted, that by his intrigues there, he had levelled some proud archons at Athens, who had lately hoisted flags as consuls to European powers; a privilege from which the subjects of the Porte were excluded by an edict, which had been enforced during our residence at Smyrna. He talked unconcernedly of the death of his elder and favourite son, whom he had taken with him, and sent home in a vessel, in which the plague afterwards appeared. The young man sickened in the Piræus, and was removed to a monastery; and another

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passenger dying of it suddenly was thrown into a well by the shore, with a large stone to cover the body. Before our departure, he formally repudiated his wife, who was an Athenian; and renounced her children, a son and two daughters, who refused to relinquish Christianity. The Turks were offended at his want of natural affection, and pleaded in their behalf. He had espoused a young Albanian in the presence of the cadi or Turkish judge, and now co-habited with her; but a plurality of wives ranked among the least criminal of his various enormities.

A general disquiet of the people likewise contributed to render our situation not agreeable. Some exactions of the archbishop, who was eager to pay the money borrowed for the purchase of his see, made him unpopular. He had incurred also the displeasure of the vaiwode, and an open quarrel ensued on his applying for leave to rebuild or repair a church, and remonstrating that the sum demanded was unreasonable. The vaiwode lifted his pipe to strike him, and, in their altercation, averred he was neither deacon, priest, nor bishop. An explanation was asked, when he replied with a proverb, (Γαιθαρος αει γαιθαρος) *The ass is always an ass.* The difference was compromised, but soon broke out again. The Greek clergy joined the vaiwode, and the archbishop was expelled Athens.

The scarcity of corn increased as winter advanced, until the distress of the people was so great, that an insurrection was apprehended daily, and Achmet Aga, to appease the clamour, opened his granaries. Yet the vaiwode, to raise money for the purchase of his post for the ensuing year, sold a large portion of the future grain by contract, to Mr. Keyrac, a French merchant, who resided at Nauplia or Napoli, in

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the Morea. The basha of Negropont would have interfered, but the Athenians claim immunity from his jurisdiction. The officers, whom he commissioned to inquire into the abuse, could scarcely procure a lodging on their arrival, and they soon left the town. Achmet Aga refused them admittance at his house, from a dislike of their errand; and the Greeks pleaded a *barát* or charter exempting them from such burdens. Some Turks at another time had required Isofime, who was epitropos, or curator, to provide for them a *conac* or place of refreshment, but he would not comply; and on their threatening to pistol him, or to cut off his head with their sabres, had bared his breast and extended his neck, declaring, the privilege should not be lost by want of courage in him to preserve it. The jealousy of the Athenians frustrated the purpose of the basha, but their murmuring did not cease. The oppression and extortion of the vaiwode were complained of as unprecedented.

Lombardi fomented the public discord, working in private, like a mole underground. His zeal in persecuting the archbishop gave him influence with his enemies and with the vaiwode. He spirited up a mob to shout, *Barrabbas, Barrabbas,* on his coming from a church, in which the clergy had been assembled; and he used every method, which the most diabolical malice could suggest, to blacken his character. He laboured also to accomplish the ruin of other persons, at whom he had taken offence. One of these was a native of Corfu, a practitioner in physic, countenanced by Mr. Keyrac; whose agent, a Frenchman, urged the vaiwode to do him no injury, and at last obtained a promise, which was ratified by his putting his hand on the head of his son, and saying, *So may Ismael live.*

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CHAP. XXX.

Journey to Mount Hymettus—An ancient well—Vestiges of Alopece—Arrive at some bee-stands—Alarmed in the night—Turkish rigour—A well—The shaft of a mine—Dinner—At Dragonisi—A speckled owl—The monastery of St. Cyriani.

WHILE we resided at the French convent, we were informed of certain subterraneous wonders, said to exist in the bowels of Mount Hymettus. The report of an eye-witness, though of a nature not to be entirely credited, seemed to merit some attention. Our servants provided ropes, wax-tapers, and other necessaries; and we set out on the fifth of October, after the heat of noon, accompanied by Lombardi. We had also some dogs and falcons belonging to the vaiwode.

We crossed the Ilissus, and passed by the site of the Lyceum. After a short ride with the greater Hymettus on our left, the road winding toward the sea, we came near a village, called Dragonisi, consisting of a ruined tower and a very few houses, on a small eminence in the plain. We alighted beneath a shady tree by an ancient well, shaped like a parallelogram, and divided in the middle by five transverse marble beams, one above another. Here a leather bucket was procured, a fire kindled, and coffee made.

Going on, we soon came to a spot over-run with bushes, among which are several wells mostly choked with soil and rubbish. Many of the demi or ancient boroughs were unimportant places, and from their want of character, can never be ascertained. Some too of more consequence are almost equally unknown, the information concerning them not being

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sufficiently explicit. This is one of the few to which a name may be assigned. On the side of Athens next the Heracléum and Cynosarges was Alopece, the place to which Socrates belonged. A farm at Alopece is on record as only eleven or twelve stadia, about a mile and a half, from the city-wall.

We now turned to the left, and entered the gap between the greater and lesser Hymettus. Here, on our springing a partridge, the falconer unhooded and let his hawk fly, but the bird, instead of pursuing his quarry, soared high up in the air, making toward Athens; the Greek his keeper looking at, and running after him, until he sunk again, and was recovered. We penetrated into the recess of the mountain, and about sun-set halted by some bee-stands, and supped on the provisions we had brought from Athens.

Night approaching, we lay down to sleep among the thickets, each on a small carpet, and wrapped in a *pellice* or garment lined with skins; the whole company forming a circle round our horses and other animals, which were fastened to the bushes. About midnight we were disturbed by a sudden kicking and confusion among the horses, which was followed with a cry of *lycos, lycos—a wolf, a wolf*. In an instant all were up, with guns ready to fire, but the moon shining, the occasion of our alarm was presently discovered to be an ass, which, from love of society, hope of food, or some other motive, had been induced to intrude on us, and now retired precipitately, braying.

At the dawn of day we ascended an acclivity of the mountain, the track rough and narrow, and on the margin of a water-course; leaving our baggage behind us, heaped in a thicket. We were told it was secure amid these uninhabited

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solitudes, though unguarded; for, such is the rigour of the Turkish polity, if a pilferer be not detected, the vaiwode, on complaint, levies far more than the value of what is lost, on the district; rejoicing in the opportunity of uniting his private gain with public justice, and the satisfaction of the party defrauded.

We were now brought by the Greek, our guide, to a circular well sunk in the rock many fathom deep, the mouth above forty feet wide. This was the place to be examined. A stout piece of wood was cut, and fixed so as to project over the brim. The Greek then got astride a stick tied to a rope, by which he held; another rope was fastened about his body; and he was let gently down to the bottom. Our Swiss was lowered next in like manner, and both disappeared; two narrow passages in the well leading, in opposite directions, under the mountain. The Swiss fired a pistol, but the report did not reach us. On their return, they conveyed up to us, by a rope, some specimens of the concretions formed on the roof and sides, as usual in caverns. The shape, which a portion of this substance had chanced to assume, proved the occasion of our journey. The Greek had received from it a lively idea of a human figure, and, filled with admiration, had represented it as the image of a caloyer, or monk, with a venerable beard, and of a striking aspect. We re-hoisted our two adventurers, and, mounting our horses, went back to our baggage by the way we came.

The mountains on this side of Athens were once noted for silver. The mines were private property, and were worked for the benefit of individuals, to the time of Themistocles. By his advice, the republic took possession of them, and applied the profits to the building of triremes to be employed in

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the war with Ægina. Demetrius the Phalerean said, that the Athenians laboured on them as eagerly, as if they hoped to dig up Plutus himself, the god of riches. The produce, which at first was plentiful, failing, they re-melted the old scum and dross, and found ore, which, from want of skill, had not been extracted. The well, to which we were conducted, was probably a shaft. The honey of Attica esteemed most exquisite was taken near the mines.

On our arrival at the thicket, where our baggage lay, a couple of Greeks climbed the mountain to search for wild honey; and our servants began to prepare dinner, striking fire, and hewing down bushes with their sabres. The fold of Mustapha Bey, a friendly Turk of Athens, supplied us with a sheep fed on the fragrant herbage of Hymettus. They embowelled the carcase, and fixed it whole and warm on a wooden spit; which was turned by one of them sitting on the ground. They cut in pieces the heart, liver, and the like, and mingled them on a skewer, to be dressed on the coals. Some boughs of green mastic served us at once for table-cloth and dish. We fell to with knives or fingers, for the latter are principally used; and a Greek, kneeling by us, circulated wine, pouring it into a shell. Our men feasted in their turn, and made merry, until the heat of noon overpowered them.

After sleeping, some in a shallow water-course beneath the scanty shade under which we had dined, and some among the thickets at a distance, we mounted and returned back to Dragonisi, where a hospitable Albanian received us, sweeping the ground, and spreading a mat for us, before the door of his house. We supped on fowls, cheese, salted olives, eggs, and such articles as could be procured. The evening was con-

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cluded with wild singing and rustic dancing. We passed the night round a fire, having no mountain, as before, to shelter us, and the air getting cold.

In the morning the falconer, after placing a piece of raw meat in a tree at a distance, unhooded and dismissed a hawk, which immediately flew towards it; but, stooping mid-way, seized a small speckled owl, lurking among the few green tufts, scattered on the surface of the soil. The ravenous bird was easily deceived by a bit of flesh, which the falconer substituted, as usual, in the room of his prey, and loosed the owl alive from his talons. We likewise saw a partridge chased, taken on the wing, and carried into a thicket.

The purple hills of Hymettus were the scene of the famous story of Cephalus and Procris.* The fatal mistake of the husband was said to have happened among some thickets, near a sacred spring or fountain. This seems the spot called Pera, where was a temple of Venus, and a water, which was believed to conduce to pregnancy, and to an easy delivery. The same, it is probable, is now occupied by the monastery of Cyriani. In many instances the temple, or its site, with the consecrated portion, have changed their owners, and the deity been dispossessed by the saint. The convent is an old irregular building, on the side of the greater Hymettus, in view from Athens, encompassed by a wall with battlements, and entered by a low iron door. The Greek women repair to it at particular seasons, and near it is a fountain much extolled for its virtues. The papas, or priest, affirmed, that a dove is seen to fly down from heaven to drink of it yearly, at the feast of Pentecost. I ascended to the top of the mountain, where I

* Ovid. de Arte Amandi, l. 3, v. 687.

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enjoyed a fine prospect of the country, and of the islands in the Ægean Sea, near the coast of Attica.

CHAP. XXXI.

Towns between Phalerum and Sunium—Capes and islands—Barrows by Alopece—Vestiges of Æxone and Anagyrus—Entertained by a Greek abbot—A Panéum or sacred cave—Wheler's route from Sunium to Athens—Remarks.

The towns on the coast, going from Phalerum toward Sunium, were Alimus, Æxone, Alæ of Æxone, Anagyrus, Thoræ, Lampra, Ægilia, Anaphlystus, Azenia. Alimus was at the same distance as Phalerum from Athens, and had a temple of Ceres and Proserpine. Lampra was the place to which Cranaus the successor of Cecrops fled from Amphictyon. His monument remained in the time of Pausanias, above sixteen hundred years after his death, and, if a barrow, is perhaps still extant.

The long promontory, the first after Æxone, was named Zoster, because, it was said, Latona had loosed her zone there in her way to Delos, whither she was conducted by Minerva. On the shore was an altar. After Thoræ was Astypalæa. Before one of the capes was the island Phaura; before the other, Eleusa; and opposite to Æxone, Hydrusa. Toward Anaphlystus* was a Paneum or cave of Pan, and the temple of Venus Colias. The west wind scattered the wrecks of the Persian fleet, after the battle of Salamis, along the shore as far as Colias. Before these places lay Belbina, at no

* παρὰ δὲ Ἀναφλυστον—Strabo, p. 398. There was a temple of Ceres.

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great distance, and the fosse of Patroclus, but most of the islands were desert. Pausanias mentions cape Colias, with the image of Venus, as twenty stadia, or two miles and a half, from Phalerum. Colias was famous for earthen ware, tinged with vermilion.

Some information, received soon after our return from Mount Hymettus, induced us to go, in the following month, to Vary, a metochi, or farm, belonging to a Greek monastery at Athens, on the sea-coast, and distant about four hours. The road led us, as before, to the vestiges of Alopece, beyond which we saw several small barrows, the soil poor and stony. Their origin may be deduced from early history. The Lacedæmonians sent an army, under Anchimolius, to free Athens from the tyranny of the sons of Pisistratus. He landed at Phalerum, encamped, was attacked and killed with many of his men. Their graves, or barrows, says Herodotus, are by Alopece.*

On our approach to the shore, some vestiges occurred, it is likely, of Æxone. We then turned, and travelled toward Sunium, through a gap in Mount Hymettus, which running out forms the promontory once called Zoster. Within the gap, near the end, we came to the site of a considerable town, some terrace walls, of the species called Incertum, remaining. Beyond these is a church. We found some fragments of inscriptions fixed in the wall; and one of my companions afterwards copied a sepulchral marble, recording a person of Anagyrus, which, it is probable, was the name of the place. The terrace, perhaps, was the site of the temple of the mother of the gods.

* l. v. c. 6. Pisistratus died in the year before Christ, 528.

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The convent stands on a knoll above the sea, with Lampra, the promontories Sunium and Scyllæum, and the fosse of Patroclus, Belbina, and other islands, in view. We found there the hegumenos, or abbot, who was come from Athens to receive us, and two or three caloyers, or monks, who manage the farm. We were entertained with boiled fowls, olives, cheese, and the like fare. The sky, as usual, was our canopy, and, after sun-set, we lay down to sleep, some under a shed, some in the court, and one of my companions in a tree, where a man had watched the alóni, or corn floor, which was close by, during the harvest.

We ascended, early in the morning, to a cave or grotto, which was the object of our journey, distant about three quarters of an hour, inland, in the mountain. This, which appears to be the Panéum mentioned by Strabo, will be the subject of the following chapter. It affords shelter to the goat-herds in winter, and is frequented at all seasons for water by those, who have their occupation on the mountain. Our men made a fire in it to purify the air, and we tarried all day, dining again on a sheep roasted whole.

An abstract of the journey of Sir George Wheler, from Sunium to Athens, will illustrate this portion of the geography of Attica. He directed his course along the shore of the Saronic gulf, and passed the night with some shepherds near Metropis, a town on a hill. Ten or twelve miles farther on, he came to ruins on a rock, near a bay. These were called Enneapyrgæ, *the Nine Towers*. From Lampra, three or four miles more inland, he travelled north-westward, in a cultivated plain, to a very few houses, called Filhia. He then turned more north-westward into the way to Athens, and entered between two ridges of Mount Hymettus; one called Lam-

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pra-vouni, the other Telo-vouni. This descended with a sharp point into the sea, making a promontory named Halikes, before which are four small islands or rocks, called Cambonisia, *the Button Islands.* He then arrived in the plain of Athens.

Of these places, Metropis may have been, as he supposes, Azenia. Enneapyrgæ was Anaphlystus. The next village was Upper Lampra; and Fillia perhaps was that, of which the people were once called Philaidæ. Halikes, with the Cambonisia, was Zoster with the islets about it. Lampra-vouni was on his left hand. He appears to have quitted the coast, and to have entered the plain of Athens through the gap, dividing the greater from the lesser Hymettus.

CHAP. XXXII.

Distinct provinces of the heathen gods—Their characters and places of worship—A Panæum or nymphæum, with inscriptions—Of Archidamus and the age when he lived—Of the nymphs—Of Nympholepsy—Of sacred caves—Of a cave in Ithaca—In Paphlagonia—Of the two entrances—The offerings—Design of the cave.

The pious Athenian was anciently furnished with patron-gods for every occupation, situation, and pursuit. He who ventured to sea first propitiated Neptune, Amphitrite, and the Nereids. The artist sacrificed to Minerva and Vulcan; the student to the Muses, Apollo their leader, Memory, and Mercury; the lover to Venus and Cupid, Persuasion and the Graces; the husbandman to Ceres and her son Bacchus;

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and the sportsman to Diana the huntress, Apollo, Pan, the nymphs, and the deities of the mountains.

The characters of the gods of Greece were as distinct as the provinces, over which they were supposed to preside. Apollo, with the muses about him, was a most accomplished deity; Pan a very rustic. Some were of a social turn and gods of pleasure; while others preferred retirement, and lived sequestered in the country. The city-Bacchus was present in the theatres; the nymphs were discovered by springs and fountains. Their offerings also had commonly a relation to their nature, office, and ideal superintendency. Their altars differed in height, shape, or ornaments. The subterraneous gods had their trenches; the terrestrial, and the heroes their hearths. The tenants of Olympus were worshipped in temples; the nymphs with Pan, and the rural class in caves.

The Panéum or Nympæum by Vary is a singular curiosity, of a species, it is apprehended, not described by any traveller. It is found in the mountain-side, near a brow. You descend through a small mouth; the forked trunk of a tree, with branches fastened across, serving as a ladder. At the landing-place is a Greek inscription, very difficult to be read. It is cut on the rock first smoothed, and informs us, that Archidamus of Pheræ made the cave for the nymphs, by whom he was *possessed*. Opposite is a small niche or cavity; with some letters, part of a word, signifying that the offering for fruits, perhaps a small piece of money, was to be placed there. From the landing-place two ways lead into the cavern. Going down by the narrow stairs cut in the rock, on the left hand is inscribed in very ancient characters, "Archidamus the Pheræan." When you are down and face the stairs, at the extremity, on the right hand, is an ithyphallus,

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the symbol of Bacchus; and near it is Isis, the Egyptian Ceres. The Athenians had early an intercourse with Egypt, and, some writers have asserted, were originally a colony from that country. Under some niches, in two places, is inscribed, "Of Pan." On the other side of the stairs are two more niches, and beneath each, "Of Apollo. Offer." Beyond these is a very rude figure of the sculptor represented with his tools, as working, and by it his name, Archidamus, twice repeated, the letters irregular and badly cut. On removing some mould, we discovered that his feet are both turned inward. Near the image of Isis lay a stone, with two sides inscribed, once set up so that both might be visible. From one I copied "Archidamus the Pheræan and Chollidensian made this dwelling for the Nymphs;" from the other, "Archidamus the Pheræan planted the garden for the Nymphs." The stairs, which are continued by the side of the rock below the figure of Archidamus, are covered with soil formed by leaves, or washed in by rain from above; and the descent to the lower grotto, to which they led, is become steep and slippery. That is entered by a narrow passage left in the partition, which has been rendered picturesque by petrifactions. It is of a circular form, the sides adorned with fantastic incrustation, and the roof with sparry icicles. Of these several are growing up, pointed, from beneath, and some have already met and united with those pendant from above. At the bottom is a well of very clear and cold water. On the left hand, going up again, near the landing-place, is a square horizontal cavity; and farther on is an inscription on the rough rock, not legible. The cavity probably contained the garden of the nymphs before mentioned, consisting of a little soil set with such herbs and flowers, as were reputed grateful

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to them. If a small trench be deemed unworthy of the appellation, it may be noted, that gardens were planted for Adonis, not equal in magnitude even to this plat, each being a shell or pot with earth, in which certain vegetables thrived awhile and then withered. Such were the flower-gardens, in the hall called by his name, in the palace of Domitian at Rome.

Archidamus was solicitous, as may be inferred from his figure, to transmit a knowledge of his person to future ages. He was a native of Pheræ, a city of Thessaly, who had settled in Attica, and was admitted to his freedom in Chollis, one of the borough-towns. The inscriptions, as may be collected from the diversity in the characters and in their powers, are of different dates. That at the landing-place was added, it is likely, long after his decease, as a memorial of his labour and its cause; which was nympholepsy. From those, which appear to be contemporary with the sculptor, it may be argued, that he lived when the Attic or Cadmean and Palamedean alphabet, consisting of sixteen letters, was in use; or before the Athenians were prevailed on* to adopt the Ionic alphabet, in which the number was twenty-four. The figure of Archidamus, so unshapely and unsightly, will coincide with a period, when design was in its infancy, and not commonly professed. It is certainly among the oldest specimens extant of the beginnings of the art; furnishing an example of the rough outline and proportionless sketch, from which it gradually rose to correctness, precision, and sublime expression; animating marble, and giving to statues a perfection of form unequalled by nature, and a dignity of aspect superior to human.

* In the fourth year of Olympiad XCIV; or, before Christ 399 years.

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The nymphs were supposed to enjoy longevity, but not to be immortal. They were believed to delight in springs and fountains. They are described as sleepless, and as dreaded by the country people. They were susceptible of passion. The Argonauts, it is related, landing on the shore of the Propontis to dine in their way to Cholcos, sent Hylas, a boy, for water, who discovered a lonely fountain, in which the nymphs Eunica, Malis, and Nycheia were preparing to dance; and these, seeing him, were enamoured, and, seizing him by the hand, as he was filling his vase, pulled him in. The deities, their co-partners in the cave, are such as presided with them over rural and pastoral affairs. If Priapus be substituted in the place of Bacchus, he also was honoured where goats and sheep fed, and where bee-hives stood.

The old Athenians were ever ready to cry out, a god! or a goddess! The tyrant Pisistratus entered the city in a chariot, with a tall woman dressed in armour to resemble Minerva, and regained the acropolis, which he had been forced to abandon, by this stratagem; the people worshipping and believing her to be the deity, whom she represented. The nymphs, it was the popular persuasion, occasionally appeared; and nympholepsy is characterized as a frenzy, which arose from having beheld them. Superstition disposed the mind to adopt delusion for reality, and gave to a fancied vision the efficacy of full conviction. The foundation was perhaps no more than an indirect, partial, or obscure view of some harmless girl, which had approached the fountain on a like errand with Hylas, or was retiring after she had filled her earthen pitcher.

Among the sacred caves on record, one on Mount Ida, in Crete, was the property of Jupiter, and one by Lebadea in

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Bœotia of Trophonius. Both these were oracular, and the latter bore some resemblance to that we have described. It was formed by art, and the mouth surrounded with a wall. The descent to the landing place was by a light and narrow ladder, occasionally applied and removed. It was situated on a mountain above a grove; and they related, that a swarm of bees conducted the person, by whom it was first discovered. But the common owners of caves were the nymphs, and these were sometimes local. On Cithæron in Bœotia, many of the inhabitants were *possessed* by nymphs called Sphragitides, whose cave, once also oracular, was on the summit of the mountain. Their dwellings had generally a well or spring of water; the former often a collection of moisture condensed, or exsuding from the roof and sides; and this, in many instances, being pregnant with stony particles, concreted, and marked its passage by incrustation, the ground work in all ages and countries of idle tales framed or adopted by superstitious and credulous people.*

The description of a cave of this species in the Odyssey has been understood as symbolical, and furnished, contrary to all natural interpretation, with mystic meaning, by Porphyry, a philosopher, who flourished in the third century.† This cave was situated near the head of a port in Ithaca. It

* Intus aquæ dulces, vivoque sedilia saxo,
Nympharumque domus. Virg.

See Theocritus 7. v. 136, and Strabo, p. 343. Philostratus, p. 411, mentions a nymphæum by the sea near Puteoli, in which was a well, with a rim of white stone. The interpreter has mistranslated the passage. The author, p. 746, describes likewise a picture, in which the cave of Achelous and the nymphs was represented, he observes, properly; the images seeming of bad stone and workmanship, as injured by time, and cut by the young thoughtless boys of the herdsmen and shepherds.

† See Pope's Odyssey, the notes on v. 124 and v. 134 of the thirteenth book.

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was obscure within, but remarkable for perennial water, and stone bowls and vessels, bees depositing honey, and long stone looms, with nymphs weaving purple garments wonderful to behold. The poet here records real and imaginary resemblances, probably traced and reported by the islanders, and which, perhaps, he had likewise seen with admiration. It may be surmised, that ideal personages and representations were anciently found also in the Attic cave.

A cave in Paphlagonia was sacred to the nymphs, who inhabited the mountains about Heraclea. It was long and wide, and pervaded by cold water, clear as chrystal. There also were seen bowls of stone, and nymphs, and their webs, and distaffs, and curious work, exciting admiration. The poet,* who has described this grotto, deserves not to be regarded, as servilely copying Homer. He may justly claim to rank as an original topographer.

The caves of Ithaca and Heraclea had each two entrances, one toward the north, the other toward the south. At Ithaca men descended only by the northern aperture, the southern being accounted holy, and the way of the gods. In the second cave was also a track reserved for the superior beings, and this is described as both difficult and dangerous, lying on the brink of a deep pit. The same distinction, it is likely, prevailed in the Attic cave. The persons, who presided occasionally, and were benefited by the religion of the place, found perhaps a passage appropriated to their use both convenient and necessary, and obtained an exclusive right by establishing an idea of its sanctity.

The countryman and shepherd, as well as the sportsman,

* Q. Smyrnæus, l. 6. v. 470.

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has often repaired, it is likely, to this cave, to render the deities propitious by sacrificing a she-goat or lamb, by gifts of cakes or fruit, and by libations of milk, oil, and honey; simply believing, that this attention was pleasing to them, that they were present, though unseen, and partook without diminishing the offering; their appetites as well as passions, caprices and employments resembling the human. At noonday the pipe was silent on the mountains, lest it might happen to awake Pan, then reposing after the exercise of hunting, tired and peevish.

It is related, where Druidism prevailed, the houses were decked with evergreens in December, that the sylvan spirits might repair to them, and remain unnipped with frost and cold winds, until a milder season had renewed the foliage of their darling abodes. The gods of Greece, at least the inferior class, were conceived liable to like sufferings. They were capable of dissolving with heat and shivering with cold. Among the punishments imprecated on Pan,* if he should prove unkind, are these; that in mid winter he might be exposed on the bleak mountains of Thrace, and during summer in the torrid regions of Æthiopia. The piety of Archidamus furnished a retreat for the nymphs, where they might find shelter and provision, if distressed; whether the sun parched up their trees, or Jupiter, enthroned in clouds upon the mountain-top, scared them with his red lightning and terrible thunder, pouring down a deluge of rain, or brightening the summits with his snow.

* Theocritus, Id. 7.

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CHAP. XXXIII.

Towns on the eastern coast of Attica—Of Thoricus—Of Potamus—Of Prasiæ—Of the port Prasiæ or port Raphti—The road to it from Athens—Extract from Wheler continued.

ATTICA has the Ægean Sea on the east. The course coasting from Sunium, is to the north, inclining to the west. The towns on this side were Thoricus, Potamus, Prasiæ, Stiria, Bauron, Alæ of Araphen, Myrrhinus, Probalinthus, Marathon, Tricorythus, Rhamnus, and on the confines of Attica and Bœotia, Oropus. The land at first lies between two seas, and is narrow. Farther on, it widens. The coast toward Oropus, was gibbous, or rounded like a moon.

Thoricus was once a place of importance. It was fortified in the first year of the ninety-third Olympiad.* Xenophon was of opinion, that the workmen might continue their employment at the silver-mines in time of war, as this fortress was near them by the sea on the north, and Anaphylystus on the south; each distant from the other only about sixty stadia, or seven miles and a half; but recommended the eminence of Besa, which was mid-way between them, as a proper spot for a third fortress, where all might assemble on an alarm; though he did not apprehend the mines would be attacked; because the enemy, advancing either from Megara, which city was much above five hundred stadia, or sixty-two miles and a half, distant, or from Thebes, which exceeded six

* In the year before Christ, 406.

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hundred stadia, or seventy-five miles, must pass Athens and leave their own country exposed. The failure of the mines was probably followed by the ruin both of Thoricus and Anaphlystus. Pausanias is silent concerning them; and Mela, who wrote under Claudius Cæsar, mentions the former as then but a name; which, however, is not yet disused. The ship, in which Mr. Le Roy sailed in 1754, was forced into the port by contrary winds. He describes it as opposite to *Long Island*, six miles north west of Sunium, and near a large plain surrounded with hills, which, on the south, are overtopped by a mountain, stretching toward the entrance of the gulf. This he supposes was Laurium. Among the thickets he discovered some ruins of a very ancient temple. Helene or *Long Island* extended along the coast from Thoricus as far as Sunium.

At Potamus was the monument of Ion, from whom the Ionians were named. The Athenians, when they provided a husband for a grand-daughter of Aristogiton, who had lived in poverty and obscurity at Lemnos, gave a farm there as her dowry.

At Prasiæ was a temple of Apollo. The ship named Theoris sailed from thence annually to Delos, with an unknown offering, packed in wheat straw, and transmitted from the Hyperboreans, a remote people. The monument of Erysichthon, who died on that voyage, was shewn there. Some ruins of the town were seen by Sir George Wheler, upon the shore near the haven, now called port Raphti.

The port of Prasiæ, or port Raphti, is described as a most safe, commodious, and delightful harbour, almost encompassed with charming vales, rising gradually, and terminating in lofty mnuntains; the slopes covered with pine trees and

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verdure. A sharp point of land, running out into the middle, divides the bay; and toward the mouth are two little islands or rocks. One of these, on the right hand sailing in, is high and steep, the shape exactly conical, the base about a mile in circumference. On the summit is a white marble colossal statue, the posture sedent, the head and arms broken off. It is supposed to have been twelve feet high, when unmutilated, and is placed on a pedestal near eight feet high. On the other island, which is farther in, is seen a maimed marble statue of a female.* These images perhaps represented Apollo and Diana, and were placed as sea-marks, or, holding lights, served each as a Pharos to assist vessels in finding the port in the night-time.

Wheler visited port Raphti from Athens. The road lay directly eastward. He passed by the mountain called St. George about a mile, and made toward the end of Hymettus, which he left on the right hand, about four miles from Athens. In about two miles more he saw, on his left, a village called Agopi, where the plain, which is between Hymettus and the Sunium promontory, begins. He dined at a metochi, or farm, belonging to the convent of St. Cyriani, and continuing his journey arrived at the port, which is reckoned eighteen miles from the city. A beautiful image of a marble lion, the body and neck and head entire, and three yards long, was seen, not many years ago, at the door of a church standing about midway, a mile on the left of the road from the port. The distant view of Athens on this side must prevent the most insensible traveller from approaching with indifference.

Turning from port Raphti a little to the right, and riding

* See Perry's View of the Levant, p. 487; and Wheler's Travels, p. 447.

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about six miles, Wheler arrived at Marcopoli, a small village by ruins of an ancient town, it seems, of Potamus. In three hours more he came to a solitary church, by which were olive-trees, and the biggest lentiscus he ever saw, with tears of mastic issuing from several parts of the body. He went on an hour and a half southward, to Kerateia, probably Thoricus, which he describes as an ancient place, with some remains. It had been destroyed by corsairs. In three long hours he reached Sunium, the track very rocky and bad. About midway he passed over a little mountain, where cinders in abundance lay scattered up and down. It then afforded some copper, and he was told that silver was secretly extracted from the ore. The harbour for boats by the sea-side was that, in which we moored on our first arrival in Attica. This coast was part of the region called Paralos.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Road to Marathon—Of Cephisia—An inscription at Oxford brought from thence—Another inscription—Journey continued—Of Brauron—Of Marathon—Funeral of Atticus Herodes—Pass the night on Pentelè.

MARATHON was distant only eighty stadia, or ten miles, from Athens. I was desirous of seeing the plain, and on the fifth of May, after the heat of noon was over, set out attended by a couple of Greeks. The elder brother was acquainted with the road, possessing a share in a stand of goats and sheep in that neighbourhood. We left the two Ionic columns of the reservoir of *New Athens* on our right; passing by a huge single rock, which is split; and by one, on which are inscriptions,

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mostly illegible. The mountain of *St. George*, called anciently, it is supposed, Anchesmus, was on our right hand. It is a naked range, reaching from near Pentelè, with a church of the saint,* standing on the lofty summit above the columns, and visible afar.

We soon arrived at Cephisia, a village situated on an eminence by a stream near the western extremity of Mount Pentelè. It was once noted for plenty of clear water, and for pleasant shade, suited to mitigate the heat of summer. It has a mosque, and is still frequented, chiefly by Turks of Athens, who retire at that season to their houses in the country. The famous comic poet Menander was of this place. Atticus Herodes, after his enemies accused him to the emperor Marcus Aurelius as guilty of oppression, resided here and at Marathon ; the youth in general following him for the benefit of his instruction. Among his pupils was Pausanias of Cæsarea, the author, it has been affirmed, of the Description of Greece.

Atticus Herodes had three favourites, whose loss he lamented, as if they had been his children. He placed statues of them in the dress of hunters, in the fields and woods, by the fountains, and beneath the plane-trees ; adding execrations, if any person should ever presume to mutilate or remove them. One of the Hermæ, or *Mercuries*, was found in a ruinous church at Cephisia, and is among the marbles, given by Mr. Dawkins to the university of Oxford. This represented Pollux, but the head is wanting. It is inscribed with an affectionate address to him ; after which the possessor of the spot is required, as he respects the gods and heroes, to protect

* See the view. Ruins of Athens, p. 37.

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from violation, and to preserve clean and entire, the images and their bases; and, if he failed, severe vengeance is imprecated on him, that the earth might prove barren to him, the sea not navigable, and that perdition might overtake both him and his offspring; but, if he complied, that every blessing might await him and his posterity. Another stone, with a like formulary, was seen there by Mr. Wood; and a third near Marathon.

We dismounted about sun-set at a place almost deserted, called Stamati; and after supper lay down to sleep beneath a spreading vine before the cottage of an Albanian. Early in the morning, I proceeded with a guide, to examine an inscription, of which a peasant had given me information; quitting, the straight road to Marathon, between which place and Athens was once a town named Pallene. We soon entered between two mountains, Pentelè ranging on our right; and on the left, one of Diacria, the region extending across from Mount Parnes to Brauron. Tarrying to water our horses near some houses, I was presented by an Albanian with a handful of white roses fresh gathered. We penetrated into a lonely recess, and came to a small ruined church of St. Dionysius, standing on the marble heap of a trophy, or monument, erected for some victory obtained by three persons, named Ænias, Xanthippus, and Xanthides. The inscription is on a long stone lying near.

The two mountains are divided by a wide and deep watercourse, the bed of a river or torrent, anciently named Erasinus. The track is on the margin, rugged and narrow, shaded with oleander, flowering shrubs, and evergreens. A tree had fallen across, but we passed under it, and entered the plain of Marathon at the corner next to Athens; Pentelè continu-

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ing in the same direction toward the sea, which, with a lofty barrow not far from the shore, was now in view. The water-course, after winding before a few Albanian cottages, intersects part of the plain, and then ceases. This village is corruptly called Vronna. The old name was Brauron. Here we procured, not without difficulty, a live fowl, which was boiled for breakfast, and some eggs, to be fried in oil. We eat under an olive-tree, then laden with pale yellow flowers. A strong breeze from the sea scattered the bloom, and incommoded us, but the spot afforded no shelter more eligible.

Brauron was noted for a temple of Diana, in which was an ancient image of the goddess. Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon, was said to have left there the idol, which she conveyed from Scythia Taurica. That had been carried to Susa by Xerxes, and given by Seleucus to the Laodicéans of Syria, who continued in possession of it in the time of Pausanias. Beyond the water-course is a large barrow; and, by it, toward Pentelè, are three smaller; with one, a little out of the line, which had been opened for a furnace or lime-kiln. The cenotaph of Iphigenia is probably among them. Some stones lie about. The lofty barrow, mentioned before, is distinct, in the plain, nearer the sea, and visible all around.

Quitting the olive-tree by Brauron, we rode along the edge of the plain, with Pentelè behind us; passed a solitary church, and, after a few minutes, turned into a narrow vale on the left hand. We then crossed a mountainous ridge, the track rough and stony, and came into the road, which leads directly from Athens to Marathon. This place has retained its ancient name, is well watered, but very inconsiderable, consisting only of a few houses and gardens. It was equidistant from Carystus in Eubœa and from Athens.

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Atticus Herodes directed his freedmen to bury him at Marathon, where he died at the age of seventy-six; but the ephebi, or young men of Athens, transported his body on their shoulders to the city, a multitude meeting the bier, and weeping like children for the loss of a parent. The funeral obsequies were performed in the stadium, which was chosen for the place of sepulture. The epitaph of this distinguished person was a single distich.

We returned toward Brauron along the edge of the plain, and passed some cottages and a church or two, on the site perhaps of Oenoe, which town was near Marathon. We afterwards slanted off to the lofty barrow by the sea. The evening approaching, we repaired to a goat-stand on the side of Pentelè, not far from Brauron. The peasants killed and roasted a kid for my supper, after which I lay down to sleep, in the lee of a huge bare rock. This region abounds in wolves. Several large and fierce dogs guarded us, and at intervals barked vehemently and ran together, in a troop, as it were to an attack, or to repel some wild beast from their charge. These dogs render it very dangerous for a stranger to go near their station even in the day-time, unless accompanied by one of their keepers; and then likewise I have seen them not easily pacified, and prevailed on to retire.

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CHAP. XXXV.

Of the plain of Marathon—Extract from Wheler—Of Rhamnus—The battle of Marathon—Description of Pausanias—The large barrow.

THE plain of Marathon is long and narrow. Opposite to the range of mountains, by which the village stands, is the sea. Pentelè, with a lake at the extremity, as I noted from one of the summits, is the southern boundary. At the other end is also a ridge, the isthmus of a considerable promontory, once named Cynosura. This is beyond a marsh or lake, from which a stream issued; the water at the head fit for cattle, but salt near the mouth, and full of sea-fish. Many aquatic birds, such as we saw by the Gygæan lake, were flying about. The soil is reputed exceedingly fertile. We rode through some very thick corn of most luxuriant growth, and the barley of this track was anciently named Achilléan, perhaps from its tallness.

Wheler, travelling on in the plain, passed by Marathon, and crossed a river, which descends from the mountains near it, and enters the sea. Soon after he came to a fountain, of which the water seemed presently to stagnate into a lake, or rather a marsh or bog, at times almost dry; then covered with rushes and weeds. Some caloyers, or monks, of the convent of Pentelè attend the fishery, which furnishes very large eels, and look after the buffaloes, which are fond of feeding and wallowing in the mire. By the fountain was a ruined town and a church, where he supposes Tricorythus

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stood. About a mile farther on was a village called Chouli, inhabited by Albanians, who had another village of the same name in the mountains; the cold forcing them to descend with their cattle in winter, and the drought, with the flies swarming from the lake, to return in summer. He proceeded three or four miles northward, and came to the sea-shore, opposite to Eubœa, and to a ruined town situated in the isthmus, and called Tauro-castro or Hebræo-castro, anciently Rhamnus. The mountain ends here in unpassable rocks and precipices.

Rhamnus was sixty stadia, or seven miles and a half, from Marathon, in the road going from thence to Oropus by sea. It was famous for a temple of Nemesis, now reduced to a heap lying on a hill in the middle of the isthmus. The statue was exceedingly celebrated, and ten cubits, or fifteen feet high. It was made by Phidias out of a block of marble, which the Barbarians, intending to erect a trophy in Attica, had transported from Paros. The ruins, consisting of white marble, are visible afar off. I wished to examine the spot, but was too slightly attended to advance farther on that side, the Turks of Eubœa bearing a very bad character.

The Barbarians crossed from Ionia under Datis and Artaphernes, with a fleet of six hundred triremes. They reduced Carystus and Eretria, and set the slaves, taken at the latter town, on shore on Ægileia, an island belonging to Styra near Carystus. They were conducted by Hippias to the plain of Marathon, as a place suited to their cavalry. The Athenian army did not exceed nine thousand, reckoning the old men and the slaves. A thousand Platæensians, who joined it while drawn up in the Heracleum, or sacred portion of Hercules at Marathon, were placed in the left wing. The line was of

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equal extent with that of the enemy, and the distance between them not less than a mile. The Barbarians broke the centre, which was thin and weak, and pursued the routed troops up the country; but the wings, which conquered, uniting to receive them on their return, they also were beaten, and the slaughter reached to the ships, of which seven were seized. Many of the fugitives, from confusion and ignorance, took toward the marsh, and, crowding one on another, were driven into it. Six thousand and four hundred were slain. The loss of the Athenians amounted only to one hundred and ninety-two. It had been usual to inter the citizens, who perished in war, at the public expense, in the Ceramicus without the city; but the death of these was deemed uncommonly meritorious. They were buried, and a barrow was made for them, where their bravery had been manifested. The Athenians continued to commemorate this victory, which was obtained in the first year of the seventy-second Olympiad,* in the time of Plutarch.

Pausanias examined the field of battle about six hundred years after this event. His account of it is as follows. "The barrow of the Athenians is in the plain, and on it are pillars, containing the names of the dead under those of the tribes, to which they belonged; and there is another for the Platæensians and slaves; and a distinct monument of Miltiades, the commander, who survived this exploit. There may be perceived nightly the neighing of horses, and the clashing of arms. No person has derived any good from waiting on purpose to behold the spectres; but their anger does not fall on any one, who happens to see them without design. The

* Before Christ, 491.

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Marathonians worship those who were slain in the battle, styling them 'heroes.'—A trophy also of white marble has been erected. The Athenians say the Medes were buried, religion requiring that the corpse of a man be covered with earth; though I was not able to find any place of sepulture; for there is no barrow or other sign visible, but they threw them promiscuously into a pit.—Above the lake are the marble mangers of the horses of Artaphernes, with marks of a tent on the rocks."

Many centuries have elapsed since the age of Pausanias, but the principal barrow, it is likely, that of the gallant Athenians, still towers above the level of the plain. It is of light fine earth, and has a bush or two growing on it. I enjoyed a pleasing and satisfactory view from the summit, and looked, but in vain, for the pillars on which the names were recorded, lamenting that such memorials should ever be removed. At a small distance northward is a square basement of white marble, perhaps part of the trophy. A Greek church has stood near it; and some stones and rubbish, disposed so as to form an open place of worship, remain. The other barrows mentioned by Pausanias are, it is probable, among those extant near Brauron.

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CHAP. XXXVI.

A cave and the goat-stand of Pan near Marathon—Story of the woman of Nonoï—Way to the cave—Account of it—Remarks.

"A LITTLE farther from the plain than Marathon," says Pausanias, "is the mountain of Pan, and a cave worth seeing. The entrance into it is narrow. Passing it, there are houses, and fonts or washing-places, with the goat-stand of Pan, as it is called, being rocks, which have been likened chiefly to goats. On this side is Brauron."

I inquired for this cave of a peasant, who came to me, while I tarried beneath the olive-tree. He affirmed it was not much out of my way to Marathon, and undertook to conduct me to it. In the vale, which we entered, near the vestiges of a small building, probably a sepulchre, was a headless statue of a woman sedent, lying on the ground. This my companions informed me was once endued with life, being an aged lady possessed of a numerous flock, which was folded near that spot. Her riches were great, and her prosperity was uninterrupted. She was elated by her good fortune. The winter was gone by, and even the rude month of March had spared her sheep and goats. She now defied Heaven, as unapprehensive for the future, and as secure from all mishap. But Providence, to correct her impiety and ingratitude, commanded a fierce and penetrating frost to be its avenging minister; and she, her fold, and flocks were hardened into stone. This story, which is current, was also re-

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lated to me at Athens. The grave Turk cites the woman of Nonoï, for so the tract is called, to check arrogance, and enforce the wisdom of a devout and humble disposition. I regretted afterwards my inattention to it on the spot; for I was assured that the craggy rocks afford, at a certain point of view, the similitude of sheep and goats within an inclosure or fold.

The road from Athens, descending toward Marathon, is rough and narrow. By the side at the foot of the hill is a tall tower; and below, a rivulet called Catakephalari. In the stream were vestiges of ancient building, probably of the fonts or places, where the women washed linen. We passed by them to a shallow river, which we crossed in view of Marathon. Our guide led us up the stream to a small arched cave, near the brow of the rock above the current, used perhaps by shepherds, while their flocks are browzing or drinking below. This place not corresponding with the description in Pausanias, I re-mounted, intending to inquire at Marathon. On the way we came to a mill, in which six or seven Albanians were sitting in a circle on the floor at dinner. One of them declared the grotto was near, and that on some occasion he had been in it. We tarried while they dispatched their homely fare, of which they invited me to partake, and then returned with five of them to the rivulet; and, quitting our horses, ascended the mountain-side, which is steep, with the tower on our left hand.

The cave has two mouths distant only a few feet from each other. The rock before them is flat and smooth; and, above them, is cut down perpendicularly. The entrances are low and narrow. That opposite to the left hand is least commodious. By this, two of the savages with a light, creeping on

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their belleys, got in, not without difficulty, the aperture barely admitting the body. I followed, and soon arrived in a chamber, where I could stand on my feet. The roof and sides were incrusted with spar. We proceeded into similar chambers, in one of which was water; often stooping and creeping; my conductors with their pistols cocked, fearing some lurking wolf or wild beast. I made my egress at the avenue intended for mortals, or that most easy; very dirty, but pleased with what I had seen, as well as glad to revisit day, and to regain a purer atmosphere, with freedom of respiration; the moist air confined within being saturated, as it were, with the smoke of our wax tapers, and cedar torches. We dismissed the Albanians, and proceeded to Marathon

The reader will recollect the account we have given of the god Pan, and his prowess at the battle of Marathon. It is likely, the mountain owed its name and the cave to his supposed merit in that transaction. He became a favourite deity, and, it seems, was provided with a habitation near the spot, where he had acquired so much renown. But now Pan with his terrors is forgotten. His goat-stand is possessed by an ideal woman; and the old fable concerning it, whatever it wa , is supplanted by a modern fiction, ingenious as capable of moral application. Both tales, it may be remarked, have been engrafted on the same stock; and each, as in the metamorphosis of Niobe, has appealed to the judgment of the eye, and reclined in some measure for support on the evidence of appearances, which exist.

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CHAP. XXXVII.

Ascend Mount Pentelè—The quarries, chapels, &c.—The monastery of Pentelè—Return to Athens—Numerous churches, &c.

I LEFT the goat-stand by Brauron early in the morning, followed by the good wishes of my rustic host, and began to ascend Pentelè; chusing to cross the mountain, rather than return to Athens by the way which we came. The track, as we advanced, became so rough and steep, and so full of hazard from precipices, that I had frequent occasion to be displeased with this preference. At length, however, we attained nearly to the summit, and alighted to refresh on a green spot by a spring.

Descending on the opposite side, we discovered a caloyer, or monk, tending his flock, and were directed by him to the quarries, which lay out of the beaten track, on a root of the mountain. The upper quarry is open to the sky, with the rock cut down perpendicularly; the lower is remarkable for vast humid caverns. In these the wide roof extends awfully over head, and is adorned with hollow pendant tubes, like icicles, each having a drop of clear water quivering at the end, and by its fall about to add to the spars growing up beneath. Within the entrance, on the right hand, a small transparent petrifying stream trickles down the side of the rock; spreading with many curious ramifications, as if congealed by frost; and forming bowls and basins, from which

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it overflows. A well is sunk deep in the mountain, with a narrow way down to the water, which is exceedingly cold. We saw chippings of marble; and were shewn at Athens a chrystal found in this quarry.

The marble of Pentelè was esteemed both by the statuary and architect. Athens owed many of its splendid edifices to the vicinity of that mountain and of Hymettus, where also is a quarry in view from the town. After its decline, the ruins furnished plenty of materials for such buildings as were wanted. The lower quarry has, within the mouth, some ruined chapels, the walls painted with the portraits of saints. Without it, high up, is a small square building or room, with a window, projecting from the steep side of the rock, which has been cut down perpendicularly, except a narrow ridge resembling a buttress. This is covered with thick and ancient ivy, and terminates some feet below, leaving the place inaccessible without a ladder, which, it is likely, was placed there and occasionally removed. I should suppose it the cell of some hermit, but it seems to have been planned and erected, when the quarry was worked. It was designed perhaps for a centinel, to look out and regulate by signals the approach of the men and teams, employed in conveying marble to the city.

We descended, by a very bad track, to the monastery of Pentelè, a large and ordinary edifice, with the church in the middle of the quadrangle. The monks here were summoned to prayers by a tune, which is played on a piece of iron hoop suspended. They are numerous, but were now dispersed, having each his particular province or occupation. I was courteously received by the few, who were resident; and enjoyed there the luxury of shade under some trees by a clear stream, with good wine, water, and provisions. My

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carpet was spread in the area of the quadrangle, near a gate-way, under which we slept at night. I inquired for the manuscripts, which were shewn to Sir George Wheler in 1676, but found no person who had knowledge of them. The monastery is one of the most capital in Greece, and enjoys a considerable revenue from bees, sheep, goats, and cattle, arable land, vineyards, and olive-trees. The protection of the Porte is purchased yearly, as the custom is, and at a price not inferior to its ability.

The next evening we descended from Pentelè into the plain, and passed by Callandri, a village among olive-trees, to Angele-kipos, or *Angele-gardens*. This place is frequented in summer by the Greeks of Athens, who have their houses situated in a wood of olives, of cypresses, and of orange and lemon-trees, with vineyards intermixed. The old name was Angele; and, it is related,* the people of Pallene would not intermarry with the inhabitants, because of some treachery, which they had experienced in the time of Theseus. We rode on, leaving the road to port Raphti on our left; and, keeping the range of Anchesmus on our right, came near a monastery called Hagios Asomatos, standing among olive-trees, not far from the junction of the two rivers, the Eridanus and Ilissus. The place, where water is collected to be conveyed in channels to the town, is at no great distance. From the monastery of Pentelè to Athens is reckoned a journey of two hours.

The old Athenians sanctified even their mountains. Minerva had a statue at Pentelè; Jupiter, on Anchesmus, which is mentioned as not a large mountain; and also on

* Wheler, p. 450.

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Hymettus, and on Parnes. The latter was made of brass. On Hymettus were altars, likewise, of the *showery* Jupiter, and of Apollo *the presager;* and on Parnes was an altar of Jupiter *the signifier*, with one on which they sacrificed to him under different titles, styling him *showery* or *innocent* as directed by the weather. The later citizen has equalled, if not surpassed, the piety of his heathen predecessor, and has scattered churches and convents over the whole country. They occur in the fields, and olive-groves, in the nooks and the recesses of the mountains.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The northern boundary of Attica—Wheler's route from Marathon to Oropus—Eleutheræ—Deceleia—Phyle—Harma—Wheler's route from Thebes to Athens.

Attica was separated from Bœotia on the north by a range of mountains, many-named, extending westward from Oropus, to the Megaris or county of Negara. On the confines were Panactos, Hysiæ situated by the Asopus under Mount Cithæron, and Oenoe by Eleutheræ. Oropus was forty-four miles from Athens, thirty-six from Thebes, and twenty-four from Chalcis in Eubœa.*

Wheler, leaving Marathon, ascended the mountain now called Nozea, and travelled by the river, which has its course to the plain interrupted by little cataracts or water-falls. After an hour and a half he passed a ruined village, called Kalingi, on the side of the mountain; and, riding as long in

* Antonine Itinerary.

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the plain on the top, Capandritti or Capodritti, famous for good wine. He proceeded an hour farther, by an easy ascent, to the highest point of the mountain, He then descended an hour and more along a torrent, and arrived at a town, on the side called Marcopoli, where he saw some ancient fragments. Lower down he came to the shore of Euripus, and, after riding by it two hours and a half, to the mouth of the Asopus, which river was then swelled by rain from Mount Parnes, and not fordable on horseback. He travelled along the banks to Oropus, a town two or three miles from the sea.

The territory of Platæa was contiguous with Attica, more westward, or on the side of Eleusis, and Mount Cithæron was the boundary of Bœotia; Eleutheræ having surrendered to Athens, not from compulsion but voluntarily, from a desire to be under its government, and from hatred of the Thebans. Ruins of the wall and of houses remained at Eleutheræ in the time of Pausanias. In the plain before it was a temple and statue of Bacchus; and, more remote, a small cave with a fountain of cold water; where, it was related, the twin brothers Zethus and Amphion were exposed by Antiope, their mother, and found by a shepherd.

Decelcia, a town visible from Athens, was toward Oropus. It was one hundred and twenty stadia, or fifteen miles, from the city, and equidistant from Bœotia. This place was respected by the Lacedæmonians; because when Castor and Pollux were in quest of their sister Helen, Decelus informed them, she was concealed by Theseus at Aphidna. They fortified it with a wall in the nineteenth year of the Peloponnesian war. It was the burying-place of Sophocles and his ancestors. When the poet died, it was said, Bacchus ap-

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peared to Lysander in his sleep, and bade him permit the body to be put into the sepulchre.

Phyle was a castle toward Bœotia, one hundred stadia, or twelve miles and a half, from Athens. It was reckoned impregnable, and was the place to which Thrasybulus fled from the thirty tyrants. It is now called Bigla-castro, the *Watch-castle*. The ancient fortress is almost entire,* standing on a high rock in the way from Thebes, the top not half a mile in circumference, the walls of hewn stone well cemented. Athens may be seen from it.

An oracle had directed, that the victims, which the Athenians were accustomed to send to Delphi, should not depart until it lightened at Harma, a place on Mount Parnes, by Phyle; and this signal was expected during three months, certain priests watching in each three days and nights. Their station was at the hearth of the *lightning* Jupiter, on the wall between the temple of Apollo Pythius and the Olympiéum at Athens.

Wheler, with his companion, travelled south-eastward from Thebes, along the stream Ismenus, and ascending came to the source, a very large and clear spring. He continued to mount a mile or two, and then descending crossed a bridge over the Asopus. He passed the top of a rocky hill, the way bad, to Vlachi a village of Albanians, where he observed some ancient walls, and caves underground. On the summit was a little tower, from which Thebes might be seen. This was on a ridge of Cithæron, which runs eastward toward Oropus. He went on two hours and a half in a plain, and saw several ponds,† with plenty of wild ducks and teal, and

* Wheler, p. 334. Pococke, p. 160. † See Strabo, p. 406.

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many low oaks, of the species which produces the large acorns. He then ascended Parnes, a great and high mountain almost covered with pine-trees, now called Casha, from a village on the side in the way down toward Attica. He passed the night in a ruined khan by a very curious fountain, resorted to by wolves, and bears, and wild boars, which abound. Phyle was just by this place. From the eminence he looked down, as he relates, with unspeakable pleasure and content on the celebrated Athens, and the noble plains, so famous in ancient story. A narrow dangerous track led by Casha to the foot of the mountain; and a level road from thence to Athens; passing by a wood of olive-trees, with several pleasant villages in it, watered by a river. Every shepherd they met here bade them welcome, and wished them a good journey.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Excursions by sea—The straits of Salamis—Manner of fishing with a light—Mode of living—Arrive at Eleusis.

I VISITED the principal places of the Saronic gulf in two excursions by sea from Athens. One was in a caicque, or wherry, with Lombardi and a couple of fishermen. We were off Ægina on the twenty-ninth of March, O. S. and observed about sun-set a staff of light near the horizon, in the south-w st, w: ich appeared again the next evening. We returned sooner than was intended, finding our little boat too much incumbered with provisions and necessaries to proceed with comfort or safety. Another wherry with two men was

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hired, to carry luggage and an Albanian servant; and, in the evening, April the seventh, we left Athens on horseback, passing by some cotton-grounds to the sea shore.

The creek, in which our wherries waited, is to the west of the Piræus, and was anciently named port Phoron or *Thieves' Port*. By the coast is a low naked range of mountains, once called, with a town, Corydallus. The partridges, between it and the city, were observed to have a different note from those beyond.* Farther on was Ægaleos, a woody mountain, and a ferry over to the island of Salamis, by which stood anciently an Heracléum, or temple of Hercules. Amphiale was a root running out into the sea, with a quarry above it. Two rocky islets near the cape were named Pharmacusæ, and on the greater was shewn the burying-place of Circe, perhaps a barrow. After Amphiale was the town named Thria, the Thriasian coast and plain, and Eleusis; beyond which are the two mountains Kerata, or *The Horns*, which divided Attica from Megaris. The island Salamis, now called Coluri, is opposite: and a long, narrow, rocky point called anciently Cynosura, or *The Dog's Tail*, extends toward port Phoron. The channel in several places is narrow and intricate. It is land-locked by Amphiale and the opposite cape. The width, at the ferry, was only two stadia, or a quarter of a mile.

After supping on a turkey, which our men roasted on the shore, we lay down to sleep among the bare rocks, waiting until the moon was set. We embarked with a rougher sea than was pleasing, and rowed out in the dark toward the island, intending to fish. We joined our two seines, and the boats parted, moving each a different way, a man letting

* Toward the city κακκαβιζουσιν. Beyond the mountain τιττυβίζουσιν.

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the net gently down into the water. We met again in the centre, when some embers, which had been hidden, were blown up, and exposed on an iron grate. The flame was fed with cedar dipped in oil; which, blazing in the wind, brightened over the deep; the red coals hissing as they fell and were extinguished. At the same time we began to clatter with wooden hammers on the sides and seats of the wherries, to dash with a pole, and to throw stones; disturbing and driving the fish, and darting a trident or spear if any appeared at the top, dazzled by the light; sprinkling oil to render the surface tranquil and the water pelucid.* The men drew up the net with caution, fearing the fins of some poisonous fish, particularly the scorpion, which is killed with a blow on the head, while entangled, when the danger ceases. The boats meeting again, they untie the seins, and throwing the fiery brands into the sea, proceed in the dark to some other place. This is the common method of fishing in these seas. It is of ancient origin, and not unnoticed by the Greek poets.† Many fires are seen on the water nightly about the mouth of the gulf of Smyrna.

We continued tossing and toiling on the waves until the morning dawned, when we had taken a considerable quantity of mullet, with some cuttle fish, and a sea spider or two. We then landed, and made a fire with pieces of dry wood, and brands collected along the shore. Some red mullets were dressed on the coals for breakfast, and the nets spread in the sun to dry. When the moon was down we resumed our

* The ancients knew this property of oil. Pliny tells us, "Mare omne oleo tranquillari; et ob id urinantes ore spargere, quoniam mitiget naturam asperam lucemque deportet." v. 2. p. 122. See also Plutarch.

† See Oppian. Cyneg. l. 4. and a beautiful simile in Q. Smyrnæus, l. 7. v. 568.

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watery occupation. We continued near a week in the straits. The men in the day-time were employed in salting fish, or in rowing along the coast, and looking for the echinus or sea-chesnut, cockles, oysters, and the like; sprinkling oil on the surface, when necessary; and taking them up with iron instruments fastened in long poles. The sea polypus lurks at the bottom of the water. We found the pinna marina with the pointed ends of the two shells fixed in the mud, and the fan or broad part open. The fish is like a muscle, and occupies only the lower portion; but each has guards, a kind of shrimp, generally two or three in number, which live in the vacant space, and give it notice to shut up on the approach of danger. We slept on shore, often in scanty shade; and rambled on the mountains, which are covered with low bushes of lentiscus or mastic. We killed some partridges, and I was assured, that in this region they are heard to sing, and sometimes are seen perching. It was amusing to view the waves raging, and to listen to the roar about the headlands and promontories; while in the lee it was stark calm. The experienced mariner judges of the storm unfelt and unseen, and is directed by the noise to launch forth, or to tarry in the portlet.

We landed by the ferry, where some passengers waited the return of the boat; but I found no vestiges of a temple. We visited a monastery opposite to it in the island. This is a recent structure, pleasantly situated, not far from the sea. We replenished our skins and vessels there with wine, and dined under a tree. We touched also on the Pharmacusæ, now called Megala Kira and Micra Kira. A ruinous church on one of them afforded us shelter from the sun. We coasted the level Thriasian plain, then green with corn, and entered

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the port of Eleusis. We left our wherries, and passed through corn to the village, which is at some distance. A respite from fish, sea-weed fried in batter, and the like fare was not unacceptable.

CHAP. XL.

Of the Eleusinian mysteries—Of Eleusis—Of the mystic temple and the ministers—Of the secrecy observed by the initiated—An hypothesis concerning the design of the mysteries—Account of the ceremony of initiation—The foundation of the mysteries.

"CERES," says an Athenian orator, "wandering in quest of her daughter Proserpine, came into Attica, where some good offices were done her, which it is unlawful for those, who are not initiated, to hear. In return she conferred two unparalleled benefits; to wit, the knowledge of agriculture, by which the human race is raised above the brute creation, and the mysteries, from which the partakers derive sweeter hopes than other men enjoy, both as to the present life and to eternity." It was the popular opinion, that the Eleusinian goddesses suggested prudent counsel to their votaries, and influenced their conduct; that these were respected in the infernal regions, and had precedence in the assemblies of the blessed; while the unhallowed were in utter darkness, wallowing in mire, or labouring to fill a leaky vessel. The Athenians were solicitous to secure these advantages to their children, by having them initiated as soon as was allowed. Diogenes the cynic was more sensible. He asserted it was ridiculous to imagine that Agesilaus and Epaminondas were

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existing in filth, or that any person, from the sole merit of initiation, would obtain a place in the islands of the happy.

Ceres was supposed to be particularly partial to Eleusis and its vicinity. There were the memorials of her presence and of her bounty; the well named Callichorus, by which she had rested, in the reign of Erectheus; the stone, on which she sate, named *The Sorrowful;* the Rharian plain, where barley was first sown; and the threshing-floor and altar of Triptolemus, a herdsman, whom she instructed in the culture of that grain, the use of which succeeded to acorns. There also the grand mysteries were celebrated. This exhibition enriched Eleusis, which had increased to a city. The Athenians reduced it to the rank of their demi or towns, but still the reputation of the goddess was unsullied. Her mysteries continued to possess a pre-eminence in holiness, and to be accounted as much superior to all other religious festivals, as the gods were to the heroes. Even the garments, worn at the solemnity, were supposed to partake of their efficacy, and to be endued with signal virtues. It was usual to retain them until they were perishing, and then to dedicate them in the temple, or to reserve them for the purpose of enwrapping new-born children.

The mystic temple, as it was called, provided by Pericles for the solemnity, created such awe by its sanctity, as could be equalled only by the effect of its beauty and magnitude, which excited astonishment in every beholder. The profane, or uninitiated were forbidden to enter it on any pretence. Two young Acarnanians happened inadvertently to mix with the crowd at the season of the mysteries, and to go in; but the questions suggested by their ignorance presently betrayed them, and their intrusion was punished with death. The

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chief priest, hierophant, or mystagogue, was taken from the Eumolpidæ, a holy family flourishing at Athens, and descended from Eumolpus, a shepherd and favourite of Ceres. He was enjoined celibacy, and wore a stole or long garment, his hair, and a wreath of myrtle. The grand requisites in his character were strength and melody of voice, solemnity of deportment, magnificence, and great decorum. Under him, besides many of inferior station, was the Daduchus or *torch-bearer*, who had likewise his hair, with a fillet; the priest, who officiated at the altar; and the hiero-ceryx or *sacred herald;* all very important personages. The latter was of a family, which claimed the god Mercury and Aglauros the daughter of Cecrops for its ancestors.

The secrecy, in which the mysteries were enveloped, served to enhance the idea of their consequence, and to increase the desire of participation. It was so particular, that no person was allowed even to name the hierophant, by whom he had been initiated. Public abhorrence and detestation awaited the babbler, and the law directed he should die. Augustus Cæsar dismissed his council and all the assembly, when a cause, respecting the privileges of the priests of Ceres came before his tribunal at Rome. Pausanias declares, he was forbidden by a dream to describe what was contained within the sacred wall; and adds, that as it was unlawful for the profane to be present, so it was for them even to hear the mysteries revealed. The violating of this inveterate taciturnity, and the removing of the barrier, was reserved to a later age, when uniformity in religion had ceased, and the civil power was weak or divided by jarring parties; the various sectaries striving to procure or retain their proselytes, and mutually struggling for superiority. The dark transactions of that

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once impenetrable rite were then disclosed; and the information which has reached us, if it be not sufficient to gratify a minute curiosity, yet contains more than is well worth knowing.

It has been asserted that the mysteries were designed to be a vehicle of sublime knowledge, and represented in a kind of drama of the history of Ceres "the rise and establishment of civil society, the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, the error of Polytheism, and the principle of unity, which last article was their famous secret." But this weighty superstructure is not reared on the solid basis of antiquity. It is certain, that the story of Ceres, which was the ground-work of the mysteries, besides its absurdities, was both ludicrous and indecent. Let Orpheus and Baubo silence the advocate for their dignity and purity.* But the author of this hypothesis perhaps intended his dissertation, on the sixth book of the Æneis, as a piece of solemn irony; and probably has laughed at his success.

The grand mysteries were quinquennial. When the season approached, the mystæ, or persons who had been initiated only in the lesser mysteries, repaired to Eleusis to be instructed in the ceremonial. The service for the opening of the temple, with morning sacrifice, was performed. The ritual was then produced from the sanctuary. It was enveloped in symbolical figures of animals, which suggested words compendiously, in letters with ligatures, implicated, the tops huddled together, or disposed circularly like a wheel; the whole utterly inexplicable to the profane. The case, which

* See a treatise of the learned Meurisius entitled *Eleusinia*, p. 137 in the collection of Grævius, and his *Atticæ Lectiones*, p. 1786.

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was called Petroma, consisted of two stones exactly fitted. The mysterious record was replaced after the reading, and closed up until a future festival. The solemnity began on the fifteenth of the month Bœdromion, and ended on the twenty-third. The principal rite was nocturnal, and confined to the temple and its environs. The mystæ waited without, with impatience and apprehension. Lamentations and strange noises were heard. It thundered. Flashes of light and of fire rendered the deep succeeding darkness more terrible. They were beaten, and perceived not the hand. They beheld frightful apparitions, monsters and phantoms of a canine form. They were filled with terror, became perplexed and unable to stir. The scene then suddenly changed to brilliant and agreeable. The Propylæa or vestibules of the temple were opened, the curtains withdrawn, the hidden things displayed. They were introduced by the hierophant and daduchus, and the former shewed them the mysteries. The splendour of illumination, the glory of the temple and of the images, the singing and dancing, which accompanied the exhibition, all contributed to smooth the mind after its late agitation, and to render the wondering devotee tranquil and self-satisfied. After this inspection, or, as it was called, the Autopsia, they retired, and others advanced. The succeeding days were employed in sacrifice, in pompous processions, and spectacles, at which they assisted, wearing myrtle-crowns. On the twentyt-hird, two vases were filled, and placed toward the east and west. Some mystic words* were pronounced, the vases were overturned, and the festival ended. The archon styled *the king* sacrificed, and repeated the prayer for the people of Athens, and took cognizance of any irregu-

* Υε. Τοκνια

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larity, impiety, or act of injustice committed during the festival. The language of the mysteries,* like the letters of the ritual, was incomprehensible to the profane. The passport to initiation was an occult formulary, not to be acquired but at the lesser mysteries; and the acclamation† at the conclusion, if the words had any signification, was intelligible only to the assembly.

The story of Ceres and Proserpine, the foundation of the Eleusinian mysteries, was partly local. It was both verbally delivered, and represented in allegorical show. Proserpine was gathering flowers when she was stolen by Pluto. Hence the procession of the holy basket, which was placed on a car, dragged along by oxen, and followed by a train of females, some carrying the mystic chests, shouting, *Hail Ceres!* At night a procession was made with lighted torches to commemorate the goddess searching for her daughter. A measure of barley, the grain which, it was believed, she had given, was the reward of the victors in the gymnic exercises; and the transaction at the temple had a reference to the legend. A knowledge of these things and places, from which the profane were excluded, was the amount of initiation; and the mode of it, which had been devised by craft, was skilfully adapted to the reigning superstitions. The operation was forcible, and the effect in proportion. The priesthood flourished as piety increased. The dispensation was corrupt, but its tendency not malignant. It produced sanctity of manners, and an attention to the social duties; a desire to be as distinguished by what was deemed virtue as by silence.‡

* The mystic name of the goddess was Αχθια.

† Κογξ. Ὀμπαξ.

‡ See what is said of the Lesser Eleusinian Mysteries, p. 93.

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CHAP. XLI.

The procession of Iacchus from Athens—The sacred way to the mountains—The monastery of Daphne, &c.—The sacred way beyond, to Eleusis—The Rhiti or salt-streams, &c.—An inscription—Incursions of the Lacedæmonians into Attica.

THE sixth day of the Eleusinian mysteries was called Iacchus from a son of Jupiter, who was said to have accompanied his mother Ceres when seeking Proserpine. An image of him, crowned with myrtle and bearing a torch, was carried from the inner Ceramicus at Athens in solemn procession to Eleusis, as it were to visit Ceres and his sister; attended by a vast multitude, some with victims, shouting, singing, and dancing, and playing on cymbals, tabors, and other musical instruments. The way, on which he passed with his retinue, was called *the Sacred*. It was exactly described by Polemo, *the guide*. Eleusis is reckoned about four hours from Athens. In the Antonine Itinerary the distance is thirteen miles.

The *sacred way* was one of the roads, which branched off without the gate, called Dipylon. On it was the pillar of Anthemocritus; and beyond, a tomb; and a place called Scirum, from Scirus a prophet of Dodona, who was buried there by the torrent-bed. A monument stood near it. Farther on were two; with the sacred portion of the hero Lacias, the town called Laciades, a monument, an altar of Zephyrus, and a temple of Ceres and her daughter, with whom Mi-

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nerva and Neptune were jointly worshipped. Here Phytalus, it was said, received the goddess into his house, who requited him, as the inscription on his tomb testified, by discovering to him the culture of the fig. The procession rested at the *sacred fig-tree* on its return to Athens. Nearer the Cephissus was a monument; and on the bank, a statue of a woman, and of her son cutting off his hair in honour of the river. Beyond the Cephissus was the altar of *the mild* Jupiter, at which Theseus was purified; with two tombs. By the road was a small temple of Cyamites or *the bean-giver*. This was an epithet of Bacchus, but Pausanias was uncertain whether he was intended or some hero; for the invention of beans, from which the mystæ were directed to abstain, was not to be referred to Ceres. He adds, "Whoever has been initiated at Eleusis, or has read the Orphica, knows what I mean." The monument of a Rhodian was remarkable for its magnitude and beauty; as also one erected by Harpalus the Macedonian for a courtezan, whom he married at Athens. This portion of the *sacred way*, it is believed, extended to the mountains, which bound the plain of Athens, toward Eleusis. The present road is nearly in the same direction, leading to the olive-groves and the Cephissus. Instead of the sepulchres, altars and temples, now occur solitary churches, and a few traces suggesting unsatisfactory conjecture. The Cephissus was formidable as a torrent. A bridge was erected, that Iacchus might pass without delay. An epigram, which was inscribed on it, is preserved under the name of Simonides. It is an address to the mystæ, bidding them to proceed to the temple of Ceres without fear of wintry floods; for Xenocles of Lindus, a city of Rhodes, had provided for their safety in passing the broad stream. I saw

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some piers remaining not far from the place where travellers cross.

A gap in the mountains beyond the river, visible from Athens, separates Ægaleos on the left hand from Parnes on the right. The entrance on the road through it was termed *the Mystic*. About mid-way to Eleusis in the mountain is a monastery called Daphne. Farther on is a heap of ruins, and part of a wall, of the masonry termed the Incertum; the remnants of a temple of Venus, and of a wall of rough stones in the front, mentioned by Pausanias as worth seeing. The rock on the right hand is cut down perpendicularly, with grooves as for the reception of tablets, and perhaps was that called Pœcilon. At the foot lies a marble fragment or two; we supposed, of an alcove. On the way to that temple was anciently one of Apollo, in which was placed a statue of Ceres, of Proserpine, and of Minerva. Riding on to the end of the gap, you have the sea, the Thrasian plain, and Eleusis in view.

The monastery of Daphne is a mean and barbarous edifice, inclosed within a high wall. Before the gate is a well of excellent water. The church is large and lofty, and reputed the most ancient in Attica. The inside of the dome is adorned with a figure of Christ in Mosaic, much injured In one of the chapels is a marble sarcophagus. The Turks are frequent and unwelcome visitants in their way to and from the Morea. The corsairs formerly infested it from the sea, and it was almost deserted. I found there a priest with a monk or two. It probably occupies the site of the temple of Apollo. Some standing columns are immured in a wall by the church; and in the court is a long stone with a Latin inscription, which records the consecration of something, it

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is likely, of the temple, by the emperors Arcadius and Honorius, when Eusebius was procurator of the province of Achaia. Arcadius commanded that the temples should be destroyed,* and the bridges, high-ways, aquæducts, and city-walls be repaired with their materials; but spared some, to be converted into churches, at the request of bishops and eminent persons.

Pausanias from the temple of Venus proceeds to the currents called Rhiti. These were streams of salt water. "One may believe," says he, "that they flow from the Euripus of Chalcis, falling from the land into the lower sea." They were sacred to Ceres and Proserpine, and the priests only had the privilege of fishing. Beyond the Rhiti was a tract called the kingdom of Crocon; with the monument of Eumolpus; of Hippothoon, from whom one of the tribes was named; and of Zarex, who was said to have been instructed in music by Apollo. Pausanias then mentions the Eleusinian Cephissus. This river was more violent than the former. By it Theseus slew Procrustes; and, as they related, Pluto descended into hell with Proserpine. A flood happening while the emperor Hadrian was at Athens, he ordered the building of a bridge for passengers.

Wheler came to the sea-side in less than half an hour from the monastery, and to a small salt lake running into the bay by a little stream. A town, perhaps Thria, had stood on a hill to the north of it.† Soon after he passed another little

* In the year of Christ, 399.

† At Thria was a temple of Venus Phile erected by the flatterers of king Demetrius in honour of his mother, whose name was Phile. The place was called Philæum.

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stream. He travelled over a plain, seven or eight miles long westward, and three or four broad from the sea northward. It was then, in the month of February, beautified with anemonies. The causey was paved with large stones. Along it were many ruins of churches or temples; one with a pannel of wall standing, of a greyish stone. The two streams were the Rhiti, but he has called the latter, the Cephissus. The water was confined, when I saw it, by a low wall, intended to make a head sufficient to turn a mill. The Cephissus, it is probable, was an occasional torrent from the mountains. Pococke did not observe any river in the way to Eleusis.

In the plain beyond the Rhiti, an hour from the village, is a small heap of ruins, probably of one of the sepulchres seen by Pausanias, on which a church has been erected; some traces remaining. A long piece of marble, fixed as a side jamb for the door-way of the latter edifice, is inscribed in large characters, and informs us, that the lofty monument belonged to an hierophant exceedingly renowned for his wisdom; who, by his intrepidity, had preserved the mystic rites from hostile violence; an exploit, for which he had been honoured with a crown by the people. The hierophants were greatly revered, and styled divine, and god-like.

A way led from Eleusis into Bœotia and the Platæis, or territory of Platæ. The Lacedæmonians, in the Peloponnesian war, made an incursion into Attica from this quarter, at the season of the harvest. They endeavoured to reduce Oenoe on the confines, marched to Eleusis, laid waste the Thriasian plain, defeated a party of horsemen near the Rhiti, and proceeded, with Ægaleos on their right hand, through Cecropia as far as Acharnæ, the most considerable town of Attica, and distant only sixty stadia, or seven miles and a half, from

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Athens, which it supplied with charcoal. The city-gate toward it was called the Acharnensian. After tarrying there they destroyed some towns between Parnes and Brilessus, and passing by Oropus re-entered Bœotia. The same enemy distressed Athens by fortifying, and keeping a garrison in Deceleia. The pomp of Iacchus was then transported to Eleusis by sea, with many omissions in the ceremony; but, one year, Alcibiades resolved to conduct it by land. He communicated his design to the Eumolpidæ and heralds, placed spies on the eminences, surrounded the priests, the mystæ, and mystagogues with soldiers, and conveyed them along the sacred way with silence and regularity; exhibiting a religious spectacle singularly striking and solemn. It is remarkable, that the celebration of the mysteries was only once interrupted, during the very long period of their existence. Alexander the Great took Thebes on the sixth day, and the Athenians then desisted, that their acclamations to Iacchus might not re-echo to the cries of the captives.

CHAP. XLII.

Extinction of the Eleusinian mysteries—Of Eleusis—Of the mystic temple, &c.—Other remains—Road to Megara.

A PRINCIPAL ingredient in the character of the Athenians was piety in the extreme. This, as it disposed them readily to admit the knowledge of any unknown god, so it preserved them, in general, unalienated from old opinions, and rigid observers of established ceremonials. Though St. Paul had preached, and an Areopagite been converted, the perfume of incense ascended, as before, to the idol; the victim was

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offered; the procession made; and the public attention engaged in fulfilling the ritual of Ceres and Proserpine, Minerva, and Bacchus, and the like divinities. Eleusis still maintained an extensive reputation, and appeared the common property of all nations; so many pilgrims, from various and remote parts of the world, continued to visit it at the season of the mysteries. The sectaries increasing, the old formulary, "Begone ye profane," was changed; and the herald proclaimed, "If any Atheist, or Christian, or Epicuréan is come a spy on the orgies, let him instantly retire; but let those who believe be initiated, with good fortune." The Christians, while the emperor Hadrian resided at Athens, were persecuted; and Quadratus, a disciple of the apostles, and the third bishop, presented to him an apology for their profession. At length a law, prohibiting nocturnal rites, was published by Valentinian;* but Prætextatus, whom Julian had constituted governor of Achaia, prevailed on him to revoke it, urging that the lives of the Greeks would be rendered utterly insupportable, if he deprived them of this most holy and comprehensive festival. Its extinction was reserved for a foreign foe; and the fatal æra now approached. Alaric, with his host, rushed suddenly through the strait of Thermopylæ, and a general ruin of universal Greece accompanied the catastrophe of Ceres and Eleusis.

Eleusis, on the overthrow of its goddess, and the cessation of its gainful traffic, probably became soon an obscure place, without character or riches. For some ages, however, it was not entirely forsaken, as is evident from the vast consumption of the ancient materials, and from the present remains. The

* In the year of Christ, 364.

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port was small, and of a circular form. The stones of one pier are seen above water, and the corresponding side may be traced. About half a mile from the shore is a long hill, which divides the plain. In the side next the sea are traces of a theatre, and on the top are cisterns cut in the rock. In the way to it, some masses of wall and rubbish, partly ancient, are standing; with ruined churches; and beyond, a long broken aquæduct crosses to the mountains. The Christian pirates had infested the place so much, that in 1676 it was abandoned. It is now a small village at the eastern extremity of the rocky brow, on which was once a castle; and is inhabited by a few Albanian families, employed in the culture of the plain, and superintended by a Turk, who resides in an old square tower. The proprietor was Achmet Aga, the primate or principal person of Athens.

The mystic temple at Eleusis was planned by Ictinus, the architect of the Parthenon. Pericles was overseer of the building. It was of the Doric order, the cell so large as to admit the company of a theatre. The columns on the pavement within, and their capitals, were raised by Corœbus. Metagenes of Xypete added the architraves and the pillars above them, which sustained the roof. Another completed the edifice. This was a temple *in antis*, or without exterior columns, which would have occupied the room required for the victims. The aspect was changed to *Prostylos* under Demetrius the Phalerean; Philo a famous architect erecting a portico, which gave dignity to the fabric, and rendered the entrance more commodious. The site was beneath the brow, at the east end, and encompassed by the fortress. Some marbles, which are uncommonly massive, and some pieces of the columns remain on the spot. The breadth of the cell is

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about one hundred and fifty feet; the length, including the Pronaos and portico, is two hundred and sixteen feet; the diameter of the columns, which are fluted six inches from the bottom of the shafts, is six feet and more than six inches. The temple was a Decastyle, or had ten columns in the front, which was to the east. The peribolus or inclosure, which surrounded it on the north-east and on the south side, measures three hundred and eighty-seven feet in length from north to south, and three hundred and twenty-eight feet in breadth from east to west. On the west side it joined the angles of the west end of the temple in a straight line. Between the west wall of the inclosure and temple, and the wall of the citadel, was a passage forty-two feet six inches wide, which led to the summit of a high rock, at the north-west angle of the inclosure, on which are the visible traces of a temple *in antis*, in length seventy-four feet six inches from north to south, and in breadth from the east to the wall of the citadel, to which it joined on the west, fifty-four feet. It was perhaps that sacred to Triptolemus. This spot commands a very extensive view of the plain and bay. About three-fourths of the cottages are within the precincts of the mystic temple, and the square tower stands on the ruined wall of the inclosure.

At a small distance, from the north end of the inclosure, is a heap of marble, consisting of fragments of the Doric and Ionic orders, remains, it is likely, of the temples of Diana Propyléa and of Neptune, and of the Propyléum or gateway. Wheler saw some large stones carved with wheat-ears and bundles of poppy. Near it is the bust of a colossal statue of excellent workmanship, maimed, and the face dis-

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figured; the breadth at the shoulders, as measured by Pococke, five feet and a half; and the basket on the head above two feet deep. It probably represented Proserpine. In the heap are two or three inscribed pedestals; and on one are a couple of torches, crossed. We saw another fixed in the stone stairs, which lead up to the square tower on the outside. It belonged to the statue of a lady, who was hierophant or priestess of Proserpine, and had covered the altar of the goddess with silver. A well in the village was perhaps that called Callichorus, where the women of Eleusis were accustomed to dance in honour of Ceres. A tradition prevails, that if the broken statue be removed, the fertility of the land will cease. Achmet Aga was fully possessed with this superstition, and declined permitting us to dig or measure there, until I had overcome his scruples by a present of a handsome snuff-box, containing several zechins or pieces of gold.

A road led from Eleusis into the Megaris. On it was a well called *the Flowery*, where Ceres was said to have rested; and a little farther, a temple; and after that the tombs of the argives, whose bodies were recovered from the Thebans by Theseus; and then a monument, near which was a spot called, in the time of Pausanias, the Palæstra or *wrestling place* of Cercyon. Wheler rode about a mile under the north side of the hill; the way covered with anemonies of several colours, wonderfully beautiful; and turning to the left arrived at the *flowery well*, a spring in a cultivated vale, two or three miles in compass, which he supposes the Rharian plain. Soon after he began to ascend Kerata or Gerata. Two piked rocks on the top shew like horns, and on one was a tower. The way over the mountain was very bad. He then travelled

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about an hour in a plain, and arrived at Megara. The distance of this place from Eleusis, in the Antonine Itinerary, is thirteen miles.

CHAP. XLIII.

Proceed to Megara—Of the port and town Nisæa—Of Megara—The stone—An inscription—Dread of corsairs—Of the Megaris—Our lodging, &c.

We were prevented from tarrying at Eleusis by the arrival of certain agas or rich Turks, in their way from Corinth to Athens. Lombardi, who knew them, hastened to the tower and appeared full of joy; kneeling before them, fawning and kissing their beards. His tone changed as soon as he was out of their presence, and he poured forth execrations on them very liberally. We proceeded slowly as before toward Megara; and, landing to dine, ascended the ridge by the sea, behind which is a considerable valley, part of the plain of Eleusis. We approached the port, and the wind not permitting us to turn the point of a small rocky promontory, once called Minoa, went ashore, and after some stay crossed it on foot; leaving men to convey the boats round into the bay. Megara, like Athens, was situated at a distance from the sea.

The port of Megara was called Nisæa from Nisus son of Pandion the second, who obtained the Megaris for his portion, when the kingdom of Athens was divided into four lots by his father. He founded the town, which was eighteen stadia, or two miles and a quarter, from the city, but united

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with it, as the Piræus with Athens, by long walls. It had a temple of Ceres. "The roof," says Pausanias, "may be supposed to have fallen through age." The site is now covered with rubbish, among which are standing some ruinous churches. The place has been named from them Dodeca Ecclesiáis, *the Twelve Churches*, but the number is reduced to seven. The acropolis, or citadel, called also Nisæa, was on a rock by the sea-side. Some pieces of the wall remain, and a modern fortress has been erected on it; and also on a lesser rock near it. An islet before Nisæa was now green. It is one of five, which, as Strabo relates, occurred in sailing from that port toward Attica. There Minos stationed the Cretan fleet in his war with Nisus.

We had a hot walk to the village of Megara, which consists of low mean cottages, pleasantly situated on the slope of a brow or eminence, indented in the middle. On each side of this vale was an acropolis, or citadel; one named Caria, the other from Alcathous, the builder of the wall. They related, that he was assisted by Apollo, who laid his harp aside on a stone, which, as Pausanias testifies, if struck with a pebble, returned a musical sound. An angle of the wall of one citadel is seen by a windmill. The masonry is of the species called Incertum. In 1676 the city-wall was not entirely demolished, but comprehended the two summits, on which are some churches, with a portion of the plain toward the south. The whole site, except the hills, was now green with corn, and marked by many heaps of stones, the collected rubbish of buildings. A few inscriptions are found, with pedestals fixed in the walls and inverted; and also some maimed or mutilated statues. One of the former relates to Atticus Herodes, and is on a pedestal which supported a

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statue erected to him, when consul,* by the council and people of Megara, in return for his benefactions and good will toward the city. In the plain behind the summits, on one of which was a temple of Minerva, is a large basin of water, with scattered fragments of marble, the remains of a bath or of a fountain, which is recorded as in the city, and remarkable for its size and ornaments, and for the number of its columns. The spring was named from the local nymphs called Sithnides.

The stone of Megara was of a kind not discovered any where else in Hellas; very white, uncommonly soft, and consisting entirely of cockle-shells. This was chiefly used, and, not being durable, may be reckoned among the causes of the desolation at Megara, which is so complete, that one searches in vain for vestiges of the many public edifices, temples, and sepulchres, which once adorned the city. I observed some of the stone at Athens in the minaret of the Parthenon.

Megara was engaged in various wars with Athens and Corinth, and experienced many vicissitudes of fortune. It was the only one of the Greek cities, which did not re-flourish under their common benefactor Hadrian; and the reason assigned is, that the avenging anger of the gods pursued the people, for their impiety in killing Anthemocritus, a herald, who had been sent to them in the time of Pericles. The Athenian generals were sworn, on his account, to invade them twice a year. Hadrian and Atticus were followed by another friend, whose memory is preserved by an inscription on a stone, lying near a church in the village. "This too is the work of the most magnificent Count Diogenes son of Archelaus, who, regarding the Grecian cities as his own family, has

* In the year of Christ, 143.

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bestowed on that of the Megarensians one hundred pieces of gold toward the building of their towers, and also one hundred and fifty more with two thousand two hundred feet of marble, toward re-edifying the bath; deeming nothing more honourable than to do good to the Greeks, and to restore their cities." This person is not quite unnoticed in history. He was one of the generals employed by the emperor Anastasius on a rebellion in Isauria. He surprised the capital, Claudiopolis, and sustained a siege with great bravery.*

Megara retains its original name. It has been much infested by corsairs, and in 1676 the inhabitants were accustomed, on seeing a boat approach in the day-time, or hearing their dogs bark at night, immediately to secrete their effects and run away. The vaiwode or Turkish governor, who resided in a forsaken tower above the village, was once carried off. It is no wonder, therefore, that Nisæa has been long abandoned. On the shore, when we crossed the promontory from our boats, some women, who were washing linen, perceiving my hat, and Lombardi in a strange dress, with a gun on his shoulder, fled precipitately. Our men called after them, but could not presently persuade them to lay aside their terror, and resume their employment. The place was burned by the Venetians in 1687.

The Megaris is described as a rough region, like Attica, the mountain called Oneian or *the Asinine*, now Macriplayi, or *the Long Mountain*, extending through it toward Bœotia and Mount Cithæron. It belonged to Ionia or Attica, until it was taken by the Peloponnesians in the reign of Codrus, when a colony of Dorians settled in it. The western boun-

* In the year of Christ, 494.

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dary of the plain is a very high mountain called Palæovouni, or *the Old Mountain*, anciently Gerania. It was covered with a fresh verdure. Megarus, in the deluge which happened under Deucalion, was said to have escaped to its summits. From the hill by the village we could discern the two tops of Parnassus, distinct, and far above the clouds. They are formed by mountains heaped on mountains, and can be seen only at a considerable distance.

Our lodging at Megara was an open shed adjoining to the house of a Greek priest, a young man of great simplicity, with a thick black beard. He was oeconomus or bailiff, no Turk residing there. In the court were fowls of the rumpless breed. A woman was sitting with the door of her cottage open, lamenting her dead husband aloud. Some cavities in the ground, near the road from the port, seem to have been receptacles of grain. I inquired for medals, and in the evening, when the inhabitants were returned from their labour, notice was given by a crier, standing on the flat roof of a cottage, at the foot of a hill near the centre of the village; but very few were produced of any value. The oeconomus had an Athenian tetradrachm fastened to his purse, which he refused to part with, regarding it as an amulet or charm.

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CHAP. XLIV.

Leave Megara—Vestiges of buildings—Of the Scironian rocks and way—The present road to Corinth—Pass the night in a cave—Coast by the Scironian way—Vestiges of Cromyon —Of Sidús.

We purchased provisions, with wholesome wine, at Megara; and, after some stay, I descended again to Nisæa, purposing to proceed to the isthmus of Corinth; not without regret on quitting the hospitable priest, and a lodging free from vermin.

The wind blowing fresh and contrary, we rowed from Nisæa to the side of the bay opposite to Minoa, and put into a small creek made with stones piled to break the waves, by the entrance on the Scironian way, the ancient road to Corinth. Near it were heaps of stones among corn, as at Megara, the vestiges of a town or village; a sarcophagus cut in the rock; the ruin of a small building, the wall faced on the outside with masonry of the species termed Incertum; and by it a lime-kiln, and a piece or two of the entablature, not inelegantly carved. This was probably one of the sepulchres which Pausanias describes on the way to Corinth. A torrent-bed, which we crossed, going to Megara from Nysæa, winds to the sea on this side of the plain.

The Scironian rocks are a termination of the Onean mountains, washed by the sea. The track over them was six miles long, often on the brink of dreadful precipices, with the mountain rising above, lofty and inaccessible. Sciron, while general of the Megarensians, made it passable to persons on

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foot ; and the emperor Hadrian widened it, so that two chariots might drive one by another. A prominent rock in a narrow part was named Moluris ; and from it, as they fabled, Ino threw herself into the sea with Melicertes. It was accounted sacred to Leucothea and Palæmon, by which names she and her son were enrolled among the marine deities. Beyond Moluris were the *Accursed Rocks*, where was the abode of Sciron. The infamy of his haunt continued for many ages. On a summit was a temple of Jupiter; and farther on, a monument of Eurystheus, who was slain there by Iolaus ; and descending, a temple of Apollo; after which were the boundaries of the Megarensians next the territory of Corinth ; where, they related, Hyllus the son of Hercules contended in single combat with an Arcadian. The north-west wind, blowing from these rocks, was called Sciron at Athens.

The name of the Scironian road is now (the robber being forgotten) Kachè Scala, *The bad way*. In 1676 it was as terrible from the ambuscades of the corsairs, as of old from the cruelty of Sciron. It has since been disused, and a road made over the mountain, on which the Turks have established a dervene or guard, with regulations to prevent the assembling or escape of robbers and banditti. The distance from Megara to Corinth, which is now computed at nine hours, was by the Scironian way only six ; but on it the traveller was in continual peril.

We left our boats in the creek, and ascended to an arched cave in the rock, black with the smoke of fires kindled by travellers, who had rested there, or by mariners and fishermen who, like us, had declined venturing along so dangerous a coast in the night, or waited for favourable weather. We

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had from it an extensive view of the turbulent gulf beneath, and of the islands. We made a fire, and remained in it until morning. It then proved calm, and we re-embarked.

We coasted by the Scironian rocks, which are exceedingly high, rough, and dreadful. The way is by the edge of perpendicular precipices, narrow, and in many places carried over the breaks, and supported underneath, apparently, in so slight a manner, that a spectator may reasonably shudder with horror at the idea of crossing. Wheler has mentioned it as the worst road, which he ever travelled. After much time consumed in scrambling up and down the precipices, he passed along the shore, under the mountain, and came to an ancient edifice three or four yards high and eight square, with several large planks of marble lying about it, some carved in basso relievo. This he supposes was the temple of Apollo.

We landed about noon in the district, called anciently Cromyonia, lying between the Scironian way, and the isthmus of Corinth. The valley was cultivated, and at some distance from the sea were olive-groves with a village named Canetta. Nearer the shore were many scattered stones with a carved fragment or two; vestiges of Cromyon. This town was one hundred and fifty stadia, or eighteen miles and three quarters from Corinth. It once belonged to Megara. There Pityocamptes, who infested the entrance of the isthmus, was educated; and beyond, but near, was the scene of the exploit of Theseus. "The pine," says Pausanias, "has grown until now by the sea-side." There also was an altar of Melicertes. They related that a dolphin had transported his body to that spot; that it was found by Sisyphus, king of Corinth; and that he interred it on the isthmus.

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Some green samphire, which we gathered on the Scironian rocks, made part of our repast at noon, after which we slept in the shade. We embarked again, and coasted a flat shore, and in the evening landed about half a mile from a rivulet, running into the sea with a shallow and lively current. There also were marble fragments, a deserted church, and among the thickets heaps of stones, as by Megara; reliques of the town of Sidûs, which was situated between Cromyon and the isthmus. This region also was once a portion of Ionia or Attica. After filling our water-casks we made a fire among the bushes, and lay down by it until the moon was set.

CHAP. XLV.

Land on the isthmus of Corinth—At Epidaurus and Methana—On the islets in the gulf—At Ægina—On the island of Salamis.

We now were near the isthmus of Corinth. Soon after day-break we landed at the port of Schœnus, and ascended to some ruins. We met two or three goatherds, who conducted us to their station, and protected us from their dogs, which were most exceedingly fierce. They lamented, that wild beasts often assailed their fold, and rendered a strong guard necessary. They treated us with new cheese, curdled milk made sour, and with ordinary bread toasted on embers. They spared us some provisions for our boats, and we selected a fat kid from the flock feeding among the pine-trees and thickets. We saw several large lizards or cameleons, of a vivid green colour. A low root of Mount Oneius extends along

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the isthmus, and from the brow I had a view of the two gulfs, the Saronic and the Corinthian; the latter shining and placid, and seeming to promise a happy passage from desolation and barbarism. The port of Schænus was three hundred and fifty stadia, or forty-three miles and three quarters from the Piræus.

One of the goatherds assisted in flaying and roasting the kid by the sea side. We retired, after eating, to our boats; and, an hour or two before day-break, began fishing. We then set sail, and, leaving the port of Cenchreæ and Corinth on our right, coasted by a range of lofty mountains reaching into the water to Epidaurus, a city of the Peloponnesus, and from thence we crossed the bay to Methana.

We passed from Methana to the mountainous island Anchistre, on which are a few cottages of Albanians, who till the scanty soil. We touched likewise on several of the uninhabited rocks and islets in the gulf, as directed by the wind, rowing where the channel was narrow; often becalmed or waiting for a smoother sea; and sometimes reduced to a smaller allowance of bread, wine, and water than was agreeable. We slept away the heat of noon in the shade, and were employed in rambling over our little territory, in searching the transparent waves along the shore for shell fish, or in spreading our nets during the absence of the moon. We discovered by the light of a cedar-torch, a muræna, a fish said to copulate with serpents; resembling an eel, with bright yellow spots. It was in shallow water, and was killed by the Albanian, who attacked it with a knife, but cautiously, fearing its bite, which is reputed venomous.

At length a brisk gale springing up wafted us to the island of Ægina, and increasing became very heavy; attended with

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rain. We had reason to rejoice on reaching the shore, though it afforded no hospitable cave or shelter from the weather. We made fast to some rocks in the lee, not far from the barrow of Phocus, and spreading our sails on poles, tent-wise, over our boats, remained there all night, wet and uncomfortable, tossed on the waves and incommoded with the smoke of our fires, especially while our fish were dressing. The next day, the gale abating, we sailed on, and leaving our boats, ascended to the town of Ægina, where we tarried two days, the wind continuing strong and contrary.

A calm ensuing, we re-embarked, intending for the island of Salamis, distant by computation twelve miles from Ægina. The sun was set, and we had rowed above half way, when we began to hear the hollow-sounding fury of the north-west wind, or Sciron, reigning afar off. The sea heaved, with the surface lightly dimpled. The swell increased gradually, and became very formidable to small open wherries; the tempest still raging remote from us. The moon shined bright, disclosing the head-lands and promontories; the sky blue and starry. Our men struggled with all their might to get under the lee of the island of Salamis; fearing, if the gale overtook us, we should be forced out to sea; and, after great labour, succeeded, much to our satisfaction in general, and more particularly to that of the young Albanian, who was exceedingly terrified, making his crosses, and calling fervently on the Panagia or Virgin Mary to deliver him from the danger he was in. We lighted a fire and supped on the shore, and afterwards lay down to sleep among the mastic-bushes. A heavy dew fell in the night.

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CHAP. XLVI.

Of Salamis—Islets—Fragments on Cynosura—Trophy for the battle of Salamis—The city—Village of Albanians—Old Salamis—The flower of Ajax.

THE island Salamis is of a very irregular shape. It was reckoned seventy or eighty stadia* long, reaching westward as far as the mountains called Kerata or *the Horns*. The Athenians and Megarensians contended for it with obstinacy; and Solon or Pisistratus interpolated Homer to shew it had belonged to the Athenians, adding, in the catalogue of the ships, after "Ajax came from Salamis with twelve vessels," that he stationed them with the Athenian squadron. The city was within Cynosura, or *the Dog's Tail*, on the opposite side of the bay.

In the morning we coasted, and, passing by a church, on the shore of Salamis, dedicated to St. Nicholas the patron of fishermen, came to Cynosura. We touched on Lipsocatalia, a rocky and barren islet, anciently called Psyttalia. It was supposed to be frequented by the god Pan. There was no image of him formed with art, but only rude representations. Near Psyttalia was an islet named Atalante; and toward the Piræus, another, alike rocky and barren.

I landed on Cynosura and examined some remains, consisting of a few stones with a fragment or two of white marble, while the wherries doubled the cape. We then crossed

* Eight miles and three quarters, or ten miles.

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over to the opposite coast of the bay, where are vestiges of the city.

In Salamis, says Pausanias, on this side is a temple of Diana, and on that has stood a trophy for the victory obtained by Themistocles, and there is the temple of Cychreus. The trophy was probably a column adorned with arms, which had been thrown down before his time. The remnants on Cynosura, it has been supposed, belonged to this monument; and the defeat of the Barbarians, as those enemies of Greece were styled, may have given rise to the name *Punto Barbaro*, by which the cape is now distinguished. The church of St. Nicholas perhaps occupies the site of the temple of Cycreus. A serpent, which was seen in the Athenian ships while engaging the Medes, was believed, on the authority of Apollo, to have been this hero.

The city of Salamis was demolished by the Athenians, because in the war with Cassander it surrendered to the Macedonians, from disaffection. In the second century, when it was visited by Pausanias, some ruins of the agora or *market-place* remained, with a temple and image of Ajax; and not far from the port was shewn a stone, on which they related, Telamon sate to view the Salaminian ships on their departure to join the Grecian fleet at Aulis. The walls may still be traced, and, it has been conjectured, were about four miles in circumference. The level space within them was now covered with green corn. The port is choked with mud, and was partly dry. Among the scattered marbles are some with inscriptions. One is of great antiquity, before the introduction of the Ionic alphabet. On another, near the port, the name of Solon occurs. This renowned law-giver was a native of Salamis, and a statue of him was erected in the

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market-place, with one hand covered by his vest, the modest attitude in which he was accustomed to address the people of Athens. An inscription on black marble was also copied in 1676 near the ruin of a temple, probably that of Ajax.

The island of Salamis is now inhabited by a few Albanians who till the ground. Their village is called Ampelaki, *the Vineyard*, and is at a distance from the port, standing more inland. In the church are marble fragments and some inscriptions which I copied. Our hotel was a cottage without a chimney. We were almost blinded with the smoke. At night the mud-floor, on which we lay, was covered with men, women, and children; and under the same roof was the poultry, and live-stock belonging to the family.

I mounted an ass and went at break of day, with an Albanian on foot, to examine a stone in a ruinous church an hour distant, but found on it only rude sculpture which had been mistaken for letters. Near it were falling cottages, the remains of a deserted village; and, farther on, the place where we landed from Ægina. It is likely, there was the site of the more ancient city of Salamis, which was toward that island and the south. A river was called Bocarus, afterwards Bocalias. It was remarked, that the harvest commenced more early than about Athens.

The botanical traveller may be amused with searching for a flower, which as the Salaminians related, was first observed on the death of Ajax. It is described as white, inclining to red, the leaves less than in a lily, and bearing the letters, which are on the hyacinth.

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CHAP. XLVII.

An ancient oracle—The battle of Salamis—Flight of the Persian fleet.

HERODOTUS has recorded an ancient oracle, which was to be fulfilled, when ships should form a bridge between the sea-washed Cynosura, and the sacred shore of Diana, or across the mouth of the bay of Salamis. This term was believed to have been accomplished in the first year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad,* when that portion of the strait became the scene of the famous battle, which delivered Greece from the incursions of the Medes.

Xerxes, after reducing the citadel of Athens, repaired to Phalerum, where his fleet lay. It was agreed in council to attack the Grecian fleet, which had assembled in the bay of Salamis. The ships approached the island. A report that the Greeks intended to fly toward the isthmus was credited, and the Medes determined to prevent their escape. At midnight the leading squadron moved silently on, circling in toward Salamis; and the ships about Ceos, probably the islet next to the Piræus, and about Cynosura likewise advancing, the whole strait was occupied, quite from Munychia. A body of Persians was stationed on Psyttalia to assist the men, and disabled vessels, which should swim or float thither, or to destroy them, if enemies. The morning dawned, and the Greeks advanced from Salamis. The Corinthian admiral,

* In the year before Christ, 478.

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who was irresolute, sailed away with his squadron, as far as the temple of Minerva Sciras, which was in the out-skirts of Salamis, and returned. The Athenians were opposite to the Phœnicians, who were on the right of the Persian line; and the Lacedæmonians to the Ionians, who were on the left.* The Barbarians fled toward Phalerum. The Æginetans intercepted them at the mouth of the strait, and during the confusion, a party from Salamis landing on Psyttalia cut the Persians there in pieces. The number, according to Pausanias, was four hundred. Xerxes was a spectator of this action, sitting on Mount Ægeleos; and, as one author relates, above the Heracleum. Another has placed him on Kerata, but that mountain is too remote to be even a probable station. The silver-footed chair, which he used, was preserved for many ages among the Persian spoils in the acropolis.

Xerxes, after his defeat, gave orders as if he designed to renew the fight, and to pass his army over into the island; preparing to join it to the continent by a mole, where the strait was only two stadia wide. His fleet abandoned Phalerum in the night, and hastened back to the Hellespont to secure his retreat into Asia. Mistaking the small capes and islets by the promontory Zoster for ships, it fled with all possible speed.

* Diodorus places the Athenians and Lacedæmonians on the left of the Greek line, opposite to the Phœnicians; the Æginetans and Megarensians on the right; the other Greeks in the centre, p. 417.

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CHAP. XLVIII.

Intended route from Athens—Prepare for our departure—At the Piræus—Embark—Land on Munychia—Pass a haunted rock—Land on an islet—On Ægina.

A LETTER from Mr. Fauquier, which I received on the twenty-fifth of April, dated London, February the eleventh, 1766, contained directions from the *Committee of Dilettanti* to return, if it appeared safe and practicable, through the Morea, and by Corfu to Brindisi, and thence through Magna Grecia to Naples.

The cranes, which returned to Athens in the spring, and made their nests on the houses, chimneys, and ruins in the town, had reared their young, and were seen daily, as it were, exercising before their flight, high in the air, with continued gyrations; when we also began to prepare for our departure. We hired a small felucca of Hydre, with seven men and two boys, which waited for us in the Piræus. The marbles, which I had collected, with our provisions and baggage, were removed on horses to the sea-side, and put on board without being examined at the custom-house. This exemption was proffered to us as a token of regard by the vaiwode; but Lombardi required of me a number of piasters, which, he pretended, it was necessary to distribute, privately, among the farmers and officers of the revenue. The disdar had requested one of our ladders, which were much admired, and we sent it to him in the acropolis. We restored to the owners some of

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our furniture, which had been borrowed, and gave the remainder to our friends and domestics.

The twenty-first of June was the day fixed for our removal. Among other civilities at parting, I was presented with a very fine pomegranate, accompanied with a wish, that I might reach home, as sound in body and as full of knowledge. We set out in the evening for the Piræus, attended by Isofime, and a tall Greek named Coletti, who had been in England, and was our neighbour; forming, as usual, a long and motley cavalcade. A crowd assembled about our gate, followed us with wishes of a prosperous voyage and speedy return, believing, as they had been told by Lombardi, that we intended to pass the winter at Athens. We were joined on the road by Osman, Tyralee Agá, a Turk, who had frequently visited us. The harvest was then far advanced; the sheaves of corn lying collected in the open air, by the floors; or horses running in a ring, three or four abreast round a pole, to tread out the grain. We repaired to the chamber of the custom house, in which we had tarried on our first arrival in the port, and supped sitting cross-legged on a carpet. The archon had provided agourd of choice wine, and one of our crew excelled on the lyre. It was late at night, when our friends rose, and bidding us adieu gallopped away toward Athens.

Early in the morning we embarked, with two live lambs, George Vandoro, a Greek of Patræ, our cook, Michaeli, a youth of Athens and his brother Constantine, our Swiss, a janizary, and Lombardi, who had resolved to accompany us to the borders of Turkey; besides an adventurer of Corfu, whom we indulged with his passage homeward. This wanderer was a man of a decent and plausible carriage. He had been distressed for money, and imprisoned at Athens, and

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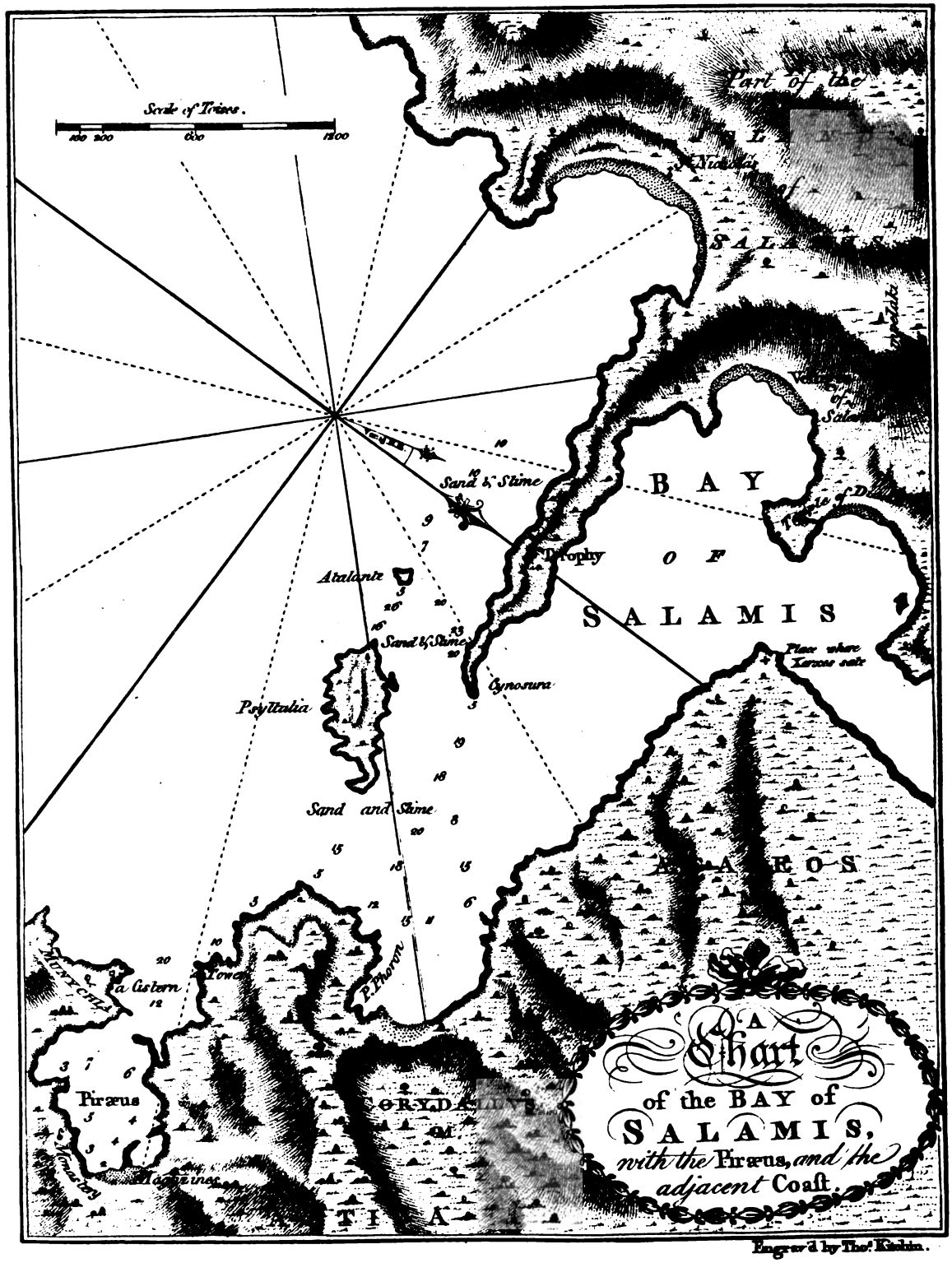
Scale of Toises.
100 200 600 1200
Part of the
BAY
OF
SALAMIS
Sand & Stime
Trophy
Atalante
Sand & Stime
Cynosura
Place where Xerxes sate
Psyttalia
Sand and Stime
Piræus
Mole
Tower
P. Phorm
Mandrines
A Chart
of the BAY of
SALAMIS,
with the Piræus, and the
adjacent Coast.
Engrav'd by Thos Kitchin.

owed his enlargement to our compassion, which he repaid with dishonesty and deceit. We rowed by a French vessel, which was waiting in the Piræus to lade with corn; leaving an Albanian youth named Sideri, who had lived with us, crying on the shore.

The wind being southerly, when we got out of the Piræus, we put into a small creek of the peninsula on our left, which was once encircled with a wall of excellent masonry, as appears from the remains, belonging to the fortress of Munychia. By the sea-side is a large fragment of a marble column. The rock was incrusted with salt, white and pure, formerly an article of commerce, and with the wood, rented of the public. Our men made a tent of the sail and oars to shelter us from the sun, and collected the low shrubs and arid herbage to dress our provisions.

We waited for a wind until the following day, when we sailed, three hours after noon, steering toward the west end of Ægina. We were becalmed about mid-way, and rowed by a rock or islet, which the mariners say is haunted; murmurings and frightful voices being heard on it, perhaps the beating of the waves, and the cry of amphibious animals, such as the phocæ, or sea-calves, which occasionally repair to land; and nightly goblins ill-treating those who are forced to tarry in bad weather.

We went on shore on an islet, between Ægina and Salamis, where we found plenty of sea-chesnuts. The rock was bare, except a few shrubs and stunted trees, but abounded in locusts continually rising, as we moved through the parched herbage, and settling again after a short flight. The amazing swarms of these insects, seen in countries not commonly infested with them, it is likely, are formed when provisions

are scanty at home; hunger forcing them to assemble to be wafted by the wind to regions of a moister temperature, where vegetables continue to flourish. Among the bushes I discovered an insect of a species less common, resembling the tendril of a vine. It was moving, the colour a lively green. Naturalists have named it *The walking stick.** This, and almost every rock, has on it a ruinous church. The sun, which was now setting behind the picturesque islands and mountains, coloured heaven and earth with a rich variety of exquisite tints. Our crew rested after their labour in the boat, made fast to the shore, on which we lay among cedar-trees, and thickets of mastic. In the night a great dew fell.

Early in the morning we had a favourable breeze, of short duration. We had purposed to examine again the site of Ægina, but on opening the port saw in it a large saité, or vessel at anchor. A Barbary cruiser had lately appeared off Sunium. Several in the boat were seized with panic fear, and called out to the captain to steer to the shore, which was at a little distance. We determined, however, to row on, when the hanging out of a piece of linen to dry spread new terror, some insisting it was a signal for us to go on board. We passed a rock, named Móne, and putting into a bay of Ægina, called Perthica, dined by a well of cold water, under a thick and wide-spreading fig-tree, beneath which we would have slept at noon, but our mariners affirmed, the shade was bad, that we should rise heavy and with the head ache. Our water casks were carried to be filled at a better spring, near a mile distant, by a metochi or farm, where we procured green almonds, and were informed that the vessel, which had caused

* See Edwards, pl. 288, c. 78, part 2d.

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our consternation, was from Crete, manned with Turks, waiting to load with corn. The wind being contrary, we passed the night on the rocks near our boat.

CHAP. XLIX.

Sail from Ægina—The island and town of Poro—The monastery—Way to Calaurea—Of the city—The remains—A goatherd.

In the morning we set sail from Ægina for Poro, a small island near the coast of the Morea, distant about sixteen miles. The fair gale soon failed, and the land-breeze was heard coming from the peninsula of Methana, making the water foam before it. The sea-breeze was next seen at a distance, and for some minutes we were between both, becalmed. Each then prevailed by turns, and, as it were to decide the conflict, eddies and whirls of wind interposed from the mountains on the coast of the Morea. One moment our sails were to be furled; then to be loosed: now we obeyed this, and presently another gust; turning to and fro as in a labyrinth. The address of the crew, in shifting and adjusting the rigging and sails, could be exceeded only by the sagacity of our caraboucheri, or captain, who foresaw and foretold the changes, though seemingly instantaneous. At length perplexed and apprehensive of some unlucky accident, as the felucca had been lately overset and was now deep laden, he ordered the men to lower the yards and to row. A fair gale succeeded, and about noon we arrived at Poro.

The island Poro was anciently named Calaurea, and reckoned thirty stadia, or three miles and three quarters in cir-

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cumference. It stretches along before the coast of the Morea in a lower ridge, and is separated from it by a canal only four stadia, or half a mile wide. This, which is called Poro, or the ferry, in still weather may be passed on foot, as the water is not deep. It has given its name to the island, and to the town, which consists of about two hundred houses, mean and low, with flat roofs; rising on the slope of a bare disagreeable rock. The inhabitants are supplied with wood for fuel chiefly from the continent. In a church is a Latin inscription, with two in the Italian language, recording a young Venetian, who died of the plague, in 1688, and was buried there; and also a surgeon named Altomirus, who was inconsolable for the loss of his friend. In another church is a small round stone in the middle of the floor, the margin inscribed in Latin " Here Altomirus mourned."

After a short stay at Poro, we rowed with a turbulent sea through the strait round a point of land, and, opening the mouth of the gulf, hoisted sail for the monastery of the Panagia, or Virgin Mary. The wind was rough, and soon blew off two of our hats. One was recovered by a boy who swam; the other, with a handkerchief in it to defend the head from the power of the sun, was carried away on the waves. We landed and went to the monastery, which is at some distance from the sea, the situation high and romantic, near a deep torrent bed. It was surrounded by green vineyards; thickets of myrtle, orange and lemon trees, in blossom; the arbutus with fruit, large but unripe; the oleander or picro-daphne, and the olive, laden with flowers; sweet-smelling pines and evergreens. Opposite is a fountain much celebrated. The water is cold, and of a quality very beneficial to persons indisposed from drinking a harder and less wholesome fluid.

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We found there a papas or priest, with some monks, and were supplied with good wine and provisions, and with plenty of almonds gathered fresh from the trees.

We set out from the monastery for Palatia, *the Palaces*, as the site of the city Calaurea is now called, at day-break, mounted on mules and asses, respectable as well as useful animals in these mountainous regions. We were attended by two or three men on foot, to chide our beasts in a language which they understood, and to goad them on, when lazy. We had no bridle or halter, but were instructed to guide them; holding a stick, if we wanted them to turn, on the opposite side of the head; and between the ears, if to stand still. We passed by a large reservoir, or cistern, made at a considerable expense, into which the water of several rills is collected to be used in agriculture. The tract leading to Palatia, distant about an hour from the sea, is rough and rugged. Beyond that place is a fountain erected by a Turk, the water not inferior to that of the monastery; and by it a grove of lemon-trees. The fruit was contracted for at seventy peraus, or about three shillings a thousand.

Neptune was said to have accepted the island of Calaurea from Apollo in exchange for Delos. The city stood on a high ridge nearly in the middle of the island, commanding an extensive view, of the gulf and its coasts. There was his holy temple. The priestess was a virgin, who was dismissed when marriageable. Seven of the cities near the island held a congress at it, and sacrificed jointly to the deity. Athens, Ægina, and Epidaurus were of this number, with Nauplia, for which place Argos contributed. The Macedonians, when they had reduced Greece, were afraid to violate the sanctuary, by forcing from it the fugitives, his suppliants. An-

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tipater commanded his general to bring away the orators, who had offended him, alive; but Demosthenes could not be prevailed on to surrender. His monument remained in the second century, within the inclosure of the temple.

The city of Calaurea has been long abandoned. Traces of buildings and of ancient walls appear, nearly level with the ground; and some stones, in their places, each with a seat and back, forming a little circle, once perhaps a bath. The temple, which was of the Doric order, and not large, as may be inferred from the fragments, is reduced to an inconsiderable heap of ruins. The stone is of a dark colour. We found three pedestals of blue veined marble. One, which is inscribed, has supported a statue of king Eumenes, erected by the city as an acknowledgment of his virtues and of his services to the god, to the Calaureans, and other Greeks. Many pieces lay ready, cut to the size which is a load for a mule, to be carried down to the shore and embarked for the island of Hydre, where a monastery was then building. Our guide was a mason, who had been long employed in destroying these remnants of antiquity.

Among the islanders, who repaired to us at the monastery, was a young goatherd, with a sheep from the fold. It happened that one of us pulled out a watch, when he stared with a face of wonder not to be described. Being asked, if he knew what it was, he replied, he could not tell, unless it were a snuff-box. Perceiving his answer occasioned a smile, he added with some warmth, "How should I know? I walk the mountains." We endeavoured in vain to make him comprehend the use and nature of that curious, and with us common, machine.

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CHAP. L.

Sail up the harbour of Trœzen—Land on the peninsula of Methana—The bay or lake—Of Trœzen—The ruins—The acropolis—The water—Of Damalá—A proverbial saying.

AFTER waiting some time for a favourable wind, we left the monastery in the morning, and crossed to the opposite shore of the Morea. We landed on a spot called Palæochorio or *Old Town*, and found there part of an ordinary Mosaic pavement, a piece or two of marble, some mean ruins, and a solitary church. About noon the wind, as was expected, became fair, setting into the canal. We passed by the town of Poro, and opened the strait between the island and the peninsula of Methana, through which we had entered. We now sailed on, with the main land on our left, up a bay, once named Pogon, or *the Beard*. It is sheltered by Calaurea on the east, and was the harbour of Trœzen, in which a squadron of the Grecian fleet assembled before the battle of Salamis.

Trœzen was fifteen stadia, or almost two miles from the sea. A town named Damalá or Thamalá is now near the site. We purposed going to this place, but found the water so shallow at the top of the bay, that we could not approach the shore. We moored at some distance to a rock by a point of the peninsula. On this spot a small fortress had been erected. We could trace the two side walls running up from the sea, with two round towers at the angles, inland. These remnants are thick, and of the masonry styled Incertum. From an eminence, not far off, a column, as it were, of smoke ascended, which we were told was dust from winnowed corn; the pea-

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sants throwing up the grain and chaff together to be separated and cleansed by the wind. We could procure no animals to convey us to Damalá before the morning, so we lay down to sleep among the bushes. The air was filled with noisome vapours from the dirty stagnant bay and its putrefying weeds. Swarms of gnats buzzed about, and preyed on us incessantly. Frogs croaked. Dogs barked, and the shepherds on the mountains halloed to encourage them to attack the wild beasts, which approached their charge.

Saron, one of the early kings of Trœzen, founded a temple of Diana by this sea. The water was there so shallow and muddy that it was called the Phœbæan Lake. He was addicted to the chase, and following a doe, which swam out into the deep, was drowned. His body was thrown ashore by the grove, and buried within the inclosure of the temple; and from him the lake was named the Saronian. The fens, at this season, were dry, or much contracted by the power of the sun. In the morning we crossed over to that shore, and riding through a flat marshy tract covered with tall rushes, arrived at Damalá in about an hour. We were then informed, that the ruins, for which we inquired, were a quarter of an hour farther on; and we continued our journey.

Trœzen was once no ignoble city. It had been called Posidonia from Neptune. They related, that this deity and Minerva had contended for their country, and, by command of Jupiter, possessed it jointly; the reason, why their money was stamped with her head and a trident. Trœzen and Pittheus were sons of Pelops. Pittheus gave to the city the name of his brother, whom he succeeded; but the people were called from him Pittheidæ. He was the maternal grandfather of Theseus. The place was shewn where this hero was

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T. Kitchin Sculp.

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born; with the rock, under which Ægeus deposited his sword and slippers, on the way to Hermione. In the agora, or market-place, was a temple of Diana, where, it was said, Hercules came up from hell with Cerberus. Behind, was the monument of Pittheus; and not far off, a temple of the Muses, with an ancient altar, on which the Trœzenians sacrificed to them, and to Sleep; affirming that, of all the deities, this was the most friendly to the Muses. The temple of Apollo founded by Pittheus exceeded in age any temple known to Pausanias. The temple of Minerva at Phocæa, and that of Apollo Pittheus, at Samos, were by far more modern. The stoa or portico of the market-place was adorned with statues, representing some of the Athenian matrons and their children, who were sent to this city for safety before the battle of Salamis. Near the theatre was a temple of Diana erected by Hippolytus. This hero had a sacred portion with a temple and image, and was honoured with yearly sacrifices. The priesthood was for life, and it was the custom for virgins before their nuptials to cut off one of the tresses of their hair, and to carry it as an offering to the temple. Within the inclosure was a temple of Apollo, dedicated by Diomed on his escape from the storm, which happened on his return from Troy. Against the inclosure was part of the stadium of Hippolytus, as it was called; and above, a temple of Venus *the Spectator*, where Phædra beheld him at his exercises. A myrtle, which grew there, produced leaves full of holes, as they asserted, from the time of her distraction, when she perforated the foliage with the clasp of her hair. Her tomb was not far from the barrow of Hippolytus, which was near the myrtle, but not acknowledged by the Trœzenians. They denied that he was dragged by horses and killed; supposing

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him to have been changed into the constellation called *the Charioteer*. The temple of Neptune was without the city-wall. They styled him *Plant-salter*, because, in his anger, he had permitted the sea-water to penetate to the roots and seeds; rendering the land barren. They claimed the god Orus as a native, and, if any people, were given to embellish their city with local stories. Its territory included the peninsula of Methana, and the promontory Scyllæum. A road between the mountains led to Hermione, which city was distant about eighty stadia, or ten miles from Scyllæum. Our mariners called it Castri, and had been employed in transporting materials from it to the monastery building at Hydre.

The ruins of Trœzen are mostly in the plain, at the foot of a lofty range of mountains, crossing from the Saronian lake or bay, to the gulf of Epidauria. The site, with the whole isthmus, is overrun with bushes, but some spots produce corn and cotton. Many rills of water descend from the mountains, and are conducted and distributed as the crops and soil require. The scattered churches are numerous, and occupy, it is likely, the places of the temples. In several are inscribed pedestals. The vestiges, with pieces of wall and remnants of brick buildings, spread to a considerable extent; the space disposed in terraces, the areas clear, with rubbish lying along the edges. The principal ruin seems to have been the substruction, or basement of the temple of Venus, and, on three sides, is of the masonry termed Incertum. It stands on an eminence, overlooking the cavity of the stadium, and has on it some remnants of a later structure. Theodore, the general, who preserved Greece in the time of Theodosius the first, was a great benefactor to this place. Besides saving the city by the wisdom of his councils, he bequeathed a large

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sum of money to the public. He was rewarded, as usual, with statues; and in one of the inscriptions the people are distinguished by their old name, Pittheidæ.

The acropolis, or citadel of Trœzen, was on the top of one of the mountains, which tower high above the plain. There was anciently a temple of Minerva. We had been told at Damalá, that many ruins remained, and I was unwilling to defer the examination, as our recent sufferings, and the reputed unhealthiness of this tract, had rendered us all eager to be gone. It was near noon, and the sun reigned in a cloudless sky, when I began to ascend. The rock was heated so much that it could not be handled in climbing without pain; and the way was impeded with loose stones, and low dry shrubs, and parched herbage, which crackled, and blinded me in passing with dust and down. After frequent pauses, to obtain refreshment from scanty shade and water, I attained to the summit, with the assistance of a Greek servant and a sailor; and found only the rubbish of some churches, with two fragments of marble inscribed We tarried awhile to recover from our fatigue, and to enjoy a most extensive prospect; and then descended by a better track toward Damalá. A gentle breeze, which had sprung up, was of signal service to us, the air in the lee of the rocks feeling almost as fire.

In our way down from the summit, or on the eastern side, we crossed a torrent-bed; and on the other is a stream more considerable, with a mill at the mountain-foot, by which a man was treading milk in a skin to make butter. One of these was called Chrysorrhoas, *the Golden*, because it had continued to flow after a drought of nine years, when the other springs failed. The fountain of Hercules in the city,

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and one named Hippocrene, was supplied from these hills. But it was remarked, that the waters of Trœzen, rising, from sources like the Athenian, partook of the same bad properties, affecting the nerves and feet; nor could better be procured by digging wells.

I was directed at Damalá to the house of a Greek priest, to which my companions had repaired from the ruins. The town is small and situated on the mountain-side. It inherits the stinking atmosphere as well as the bad water of Trœzen. The inhabitants are of a sallow complexion, and August is commonly a month of great mortality. It is the see of a bishop, and noted for being frequently vacant, as it then was; the occupier seldom long surviving his new dignity.

A proverbial saying, *the bishop of Damalá*, is current in these parts, and applied to persons who suffer by their own indiscretion. The story is simple enough. He was presented with some fishes; offended at their size, and, being told that such only could be procured, resolved to attend the trial. The boat was surprised by a Barbary cruiser. He was carried into slavery, and employed to grind wheat, and at the same time to rock a child; until he moved the compassion of his owner by singing some words, which he composed, void of poetry, but expressive of his folly and its consequences. I shall insert them from a copy written by the priest, as a specimen of the versification and language of modern Greece.

πίσκοπος. τὸ δαμαλά.
μὴ τε νό. μητεμηαλὰ—
ταλινά. δὲνίθελες.
τὰ μεγάλα. γιρέβες,
τράβα τὸ χερόμηλο.
κόνα. ταρὰπόπυλο.

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A bishop without brain or sense,
Deserving such a recompense!
With smaller fishes not content,
Author of thine own punishment!
Turn, turn the mill, a fit employ,
And lull to sleep the Arab-boy.

CHAP. LI.

The gulf of Epidauria—Of Methana—An ancient charm—A hot spring—The islets—Of Epidaurus—The harbour.

We returned to the shore in the evening from Damalá, and before night landed on the island Calaurea. The next day we sent some men in the boat for provisions to the town of Poro. They came back at noon. We sailed, and landed again on the peninsula of Methana, on the side toward Attica. Here was a ruined church, with a well. The mountain was bare and black, a fire having lately consumed the wood. We lay among huge single rocks, some poised, as it were, on a point. In the morning we embarked hastily with a fair breeze; which failing, we continued for some hours on a smooth sea, exposed to the intense heat of a cloudless sun. We passed between some islets, and entered a gulf or deep bay, in which is Methana; with Epidaurus opposite, but nearer the mouth.

Methana or Methone was a small city on the western side of the peninsula. The name is still retained. The acropolis or citadel was on a mountain moderately high; rough, and partly inaccessible. The wall was of excellent masonry, and has been repaired, but is again in ruins. I saw an im-

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perfect inscription by the entrance of a church, on the site perhaps of the temple of Isis, but without a roof. Round about the rock were many fences of piled stones, inclosing in April, when I was there, ploughed fields and neglected churches. The face of the country was then brown and dismal. A semicircular range of mountains rises behind.

Pausanias relates, that he wondered most at a device used at Methana to avert Libs on the south-west wind, which, coming from the Saronic gulf, withered the vines, when in bud. A couple of men, while it was blowing, divided a cock with white feathers into two parts, and running in a contrary direction encompassed the vineyards, each bearing a portion. They buried the cock on their arrival at the place, from whence they had started.

The hot baths were computed about thirty stadia, or three miles and three quarters from Methana. The spring appeared first when Antigonus, son of Demetrius, reigned in Macedonia, after a fiery eruption from a volcano, which raised in a level plain a mountain, seven stadia, or near a mile high; for some time inaccessible by day, on account of the heat, and the strong sulphureous odour; but at night, smelling agreeably, shining at a great distance, and affording warmth. The sea, which boiled with the lava as far out as five stadia, or above half a mile, was disturbed twenty stadia, or two miles and a half; and rocks were extant in it, not less than towers. The flame dying away, a current, warm and exceedingly salt, succeeded; but no cold water was found there, and swimming in the bay was dangerous, it abounding with other monsters, and with dog-fish. This spring is on the side of the mountain, by a village, which is in view; and tinges the soil near it with the colour of ochre.

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Ovid has described the alteration of this spot in a speech of Pythagoras to Numa.

The rocks before Methana, in the mouth of the bay, were called *the islets of Pelops*. They were nine in number; produced, it is likely, by the volcano, and once bare. Some shrubs grow on them, and we found water to fill our casks, with a ruined church or two. It was anciently affirmed, that on one no rain ever fell. Our author knew not whether this were true; but relates, that he had seen men, by sacrifices and incantations, turn away hail. An island named Sphæra, and afterwards Hiera, was perhaps more within the bay. There was a monument, it was said, of Sphœrus, who drove the chariot of Pelops, and a temple of Minerva, in which the virgins of Trœzen consecrated their zones, before marriage. The same offering is still seen in the churches at Athens, with towels richly embroidered, and various other articles. The water was fordable, and it may be suspected that this island, which was near, is now joined to the main land.

Epidaurus was no obscure city. It stood in a recess of the Saronic gulf, fronting the east, and was fortified by nature, being inclosed by high mountains reaching to the sea, and rendering it difficult of access. It had temples, and in the acropolis, or citadel, was a remarkable statue of Minerva. The site is now called Epi-thavro. The traces are indistinct, and it has probably been long deserted. In April it was sown with corn, or over-run with bushes, flowering shrubs, cedars, and almond-tress; the aspect fresh and pleasing. We found plenty of wild asparagus; a maimed statue of bad workmanship, the posture recumbent; some masses of stone, brick, and rubbish; a few pieces of marble, and a sepulchral inscription, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΑ ΧΑΙΡΕ *Alexandrea farewell.*

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The harbour of Epidaurus is long. Its periplus or circuit was fifteen stadia, or near two miles. The entrance is between mountains, and on a small rocky peninsula on the left hand are ruins of a modern fortress. This, it seems, was the point on which a temple of Juno stood. It is frequented by vessels for wood or corn; and near the upper end is a beautiful young palm-tree, flourishing by the sea-side.

CHAP. LII.

Land in Epidauria—Set out on foot for the grove of Æsculapius—At Liguriò—The evening—Remains by Liguriò.

We landed in the Morea, about half an hour from Epi-yatha, a village on a high mountain, by a large fortress, in view; about two hours from Epidaurus, which is more within the bay; intending to visit the grove of Æsculapius and his temple, which was five miles from that city. We sent to Epi-yatha, but the people were engaged in harvest-work, and their beasts could not be spared. The locusts were very numerous. Night approached. We lay on the shore, not far from a small lake running into the sea, the stream full of fish, and supplied by cold and clear water rushing in, very copiously, from beneath a rock. We made fires of cow-dung, hoping the smoke would drive away the gnats, but were still tormented by them exceedingly.

Our messengers returned again from Epi-yatha, early in the morning, and informed us, that no beasts could be procured. We were impatient to change our quarters. Our sleep had been much disturbed; the air was reputed very

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unhealthy; and the wine, being impregnated with lime, was deemed as ruinous to the stomach, and as intoxicating, as pleasant to the eye and taste. I now determined to tarry there no longer, and taking an umbrella set out on foot, attended by our janizary, a servant, and two sailors, armed and carrying provisions and other necessaries. We passed by the fortress of Epi-yatha, over hills, and through dales and ripe corn. The streams and fountains, which occured on the way, with the myrtles and ever-greens in the water courses, afforded us refreshment; or the excessive heat of the sun would have been insupportable. It was mid-day when we arrived greatly fatigued at Ligurió.

Ligurio is the name of four separate villages, or of a district. The place, where we stopped, is clean, and enjoys a good air. It is pleasantly seated on the side of a hill, the plain beneath it overspread with vines producing a strong red wine, which is deservedly in great repute. They infuse resin instead of lime. The people were abroad in the fields, and we tarried under a shady tree some time, until we were better accommodated by an Albanian woman. The house was neat though mean, and much recommended afterwards by the honest heartiness of its owner her husband, and of his family.

I had expected to find at Ligurió the sacred possession of Æsculapius, but was told, that the ruins were at Gérao, about an hour distant. In the evening an Albanian peasant with a caloyer, or monk, offered to conduct me to the spot; and the janizary with the sailors desired to accompany me. On our return, the villagers, who had been employed in their harvest-work, readily furnished as many beasts as were required, and offered to proceed with them by moonlight to Epi-yatha.

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After supping on the ground before the house, a violin was procured. The janizary played, and the Albanians and Greeks began singing and dancing, with their usual alacrity. When they had finished, we lay dispersed, in the open air, in the area of the court. The next day about noon, my companions arrived, greatly fatigued, and one of them ill; their attendants also complaining of their sufferings by the sea-side and on the road.

On a summit near Ligurió are some vestiges, it is supposed, of Lessa, once a village with a temple and statue of Minerva near the confines of Epidauria and Argolis, or the territory of Argos. Below, at the foot of the opposite mountain, is the ruin of a quadrangular structure; the masonry of the species styled Incertum, the sides inclining as in a pyramid. Lessa fronted the road leading by the temple of Æsculapius to Epidaurus; and a track beneath Ligurió now passes through the plain by Gerao to that port.

CHAP. LIII.

The grove of Æsculapius—His statue and temple—Inscriptions—The stadium—The theatre—Mount Cynortium—Water, &c.—Serpents.

The grove of Æsculapius was inclosed by mountains, within which all the sacrifices, as well of the Epidaurians as of strangers, were consumed. One was called Titthion, and on this the god, when an infant, was said to have been exposed, and to have been suckled by a she-goat. He was a great physician, and his temple was always crowded with sick

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persons. Beyond it was the dormitory of the suppliants; and near it, a circular edifice called the Tholus, built by Polycletus, of white marble, worth seeing. The grove, besides other temples, was adorned with a portico, and a fountain remarkable for its roof and decorations. The bath of Æsculapius was one of the benefactions of Antoninus Pius, while a Roman Senator; as was also a house for the reception of pregnant women, and dying persons, who before were removed out of the inclosure, to be delivered, or to expire in the open air. The remains are heaps of stones, pieces of brick wall, and scattered fragments of marble; besides some churches, or rather piles of rubbish mis-called, being destitute of doors, roofs, or any kind of ornament.

The statue of Æsculapius was half as big as that of Jupiter Olympius at Athens. It was made of ivory and gold, and as the inscription proved, by Thrasymedes son of Arignotus of Paros. He was represented sitting, holding his staff, with one hand on the head of a serpent, and a dog lying by him. Two Argive heroes, Bellerophon combating with the monster Chimæra, and Perseus severing the head of Medusa, were carved on the throne. Many tablets described the cures performed by the deity, yet he had not escaped contumely and robbery. Dionysius deprived him of his golden beard, affirming it was very unseemly in him to appear in that manner, when his father Apollo was always seen with his face smooth. Sylla amassed the precious offerings belonging to him and to Apollo and Jupiter at Delphi and Olympia, to pay his army before Athens. The marks in the walls testified that a great number had been plucked down. A few fragments of white marble, exquisitely carved, occur in the heap of the temple.

The inclosure of the temple once abounded in inscription.

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In the second century six marbles remained, on which were written, in the Doric dialect, the names of men and women, who had been patients of the god, with the distemper each had laboured under, and the remedies he had directed. We found only a couple of votive inscriptions, and two pedestals of statues, one of which represented a Roman, and was erected by the city of the Epidaurians. The divine prescriptions have perished, or are buried in the ruin, but a specimen is extant* from similar records, once preserved in his temple in the isle of Tiber near Rome. The complaint was spitting of blood, and the person deemed incurable; but Æsculapius prevailed. He was restored, and returned thanks publicly before the people.

The stadium was near the temple. It was of earth, as most in Greece were. At the upper end are seats of stone, but these were continued along the sides only a few yards. A vaulted passage leading underneath into the area, now choked up, was a private way by which the Agonothetæ, or presidents, with the priests and persons of distinction entered.

Two large cisterns or reservoirs remain, made by Antoninus for the reception of rain-water. One measured ninety-nine feet long, and thirty-seven wide. Beyond them is a dry water-course, and in the mountain-side, on the right hand, are the marble seats of the theatre, overgrown with bushes. We regretted that the Proscenium, or front, was vanished, as this fabric was also the work of Polycletus, and much admired. The Roman theatres, as Pausanias observes, far exceeded all in ornament, and in size that of Megalopolis in Arcadia; but,

* See Comment on Strabo, p. 164, or Gruter Inscript. p. 72.

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he subjoins, what architect can compare with Polycletus in harmony and beauty?

Going up the water-course, between the mountains, is a church, where, besides fragments, we found a short incription. "Diogenes the hierophant to far-darting Apollo, on account of a vision in his sleep." Apollo had a temple on Mount Cynortium, probably on this spot; and on a summit beyond are other traces, it is likely of a temple of Diana.

The springs and wells by the ruins are now supposed to possess many excellent properties. To these and a good air, with the recreations of the theatre and of the stadium, and to the medicinal knowledge and experience of the priests, may be attributed both the recovery of the sick, and the reputation of Æsculapius. The renown and worship of this god began in Epidauria, and continued for many centuries. Since he failed, some saints have succeeded to the business; and I have seen patients lying in beds in their churches at Athens. The whole neighbourhood has for ages plundered the grove. The Ligurians remembered the removal of a marble chair from the theatre, and of statues and inscriptions, which among other materials, were used in repairing the fortifications of Nauplia, now called Napoli, or in building a new mosque at Argos.

The tortoises of Mount Cithæron were sacred to Pan; the serpents of Epidauria to Æsculapius. One species, yellower than common, was peculiar to this region, and tame, perhaps like the cranes, from being never molested. These reptiles still abound. Some, as the Ligurians relate, are very large, not venomous, and, if attacked, fight with their tails.

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CHAP. LIV.

Leare Liguriò—Nauplia—Tiryns—The river Inachus—Old Argos—The present town.

Our sick companion was able to travel after resting two days. The sailors left us at night, with orders to proceed in the felucca to the port of Corinth, and wait our arrival by land. The janizary and Swiss went for horses to Napoli, and, not succeeding there, to Argos. They returned at midnight much fatigued, with eight only and a couple of Argives. The next evening we descended from Liguriò into the plain, and crossing with the pyramidal ruin on our right, entered between two ridges of mountains. The track was stony, among bushes, by slender streams, and over dry water-courses. After three hours we dismounted at a place called *The Gardens*. We had here figs ripe and large. We resolved to continue our journey by moon-light, to avoid the heat of the sun and also the flies, which had terribly tormented our horses. We supped and lay in an orchard, chiefly of pomegranate and mulberry trees; among which was the plant called Opuntia, then in flower. We set out again at two in the morning, and by a rough track entered the plain of Argos. This pass has been strongly guarded. Several summits of the mountains on each side are crowned with large neglected castles. The road led us through olive-groves, near to Napolia, now Napoli of Romania.

Nauplia, the port of Argos, was situated at the bottom of a deep gulf. The people were supposed to have accompanied Danus from Egypt. They were expelled by the Ar-

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gives for rebellion. In the second century the town was desolate; but ruins of the walls remained, with a temple of Neptune, and a fountain, which still flows, called Canathus. The Argives were accustomed to wash at it a statue of Juno yearly, on her festival. The harbour is the most secure, and best defended in the Morea. The houses are on a tongue of land running out into the sea, and overlooked by a high and abrupt mountain. It is a place of a good appearance, and is strongly fortified both by nature and art. It was taken, with the castle of Argos, by the Venetians in 1686. We could see two ships at anchor, and were told that a couple of French frigates had sailed the night before to chastise the Dulciniotes, who had been recently guilty of piracies. We left Nauplia behind us, and travelled toward Argos.

Our guides led us out of the direct road to an abandoned fortress on a rocky eminence in the plain. The wall has large stones toward the bottom; the superstructure chiefly modern and mere patch-work. This was once Tiryns, the citadel of Prœtus, the ruins of which were extant on the right-hand of the road from Argos to Epidauria. The Cyclopes, who came from Lycia, were said to have erected the wall, which only remained in the second century. It consisted of rough stones, the smallest of which could not have been moved, at first, by a yoke of mules; with lesser stones fitted to fill the vacant spaces. Farther on, by the sea and Nauplia, were caverns called Cyclopia, with labyrinths, or, as they were named, the chambers of the daughters of Prœtus; probably quarries. The inhabitants of Tiryns, and also of Midéa, a place of which the site was visible on the left of that road, had been transferred to Argos.

We continued our journey over a level plain, of fine impal-

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pable soil, and by cotton grounds, gardens, and the stubble of wheat. We approached Argos, and crossed a shallow stream, once called Charadrus, and also the bed of the Inachus. The Argives related, that this was one of the river-gods, who adjudged the country to Juno, when she contended for it with Neptune, which deity in return made their water to vanish; the reason why the Inachus flowed only after rain, and was dry in summer. The source was a spring, not copious, on a mountain in Arcadia, and the river served there as a boundary between the Argives and the Mantineans.

Ancient Argos stood chiefly on a flat. The springs were near the surface, and it abounded in wells, which were said to have been invented by the daughters of Danaus. This early personage probably introduced the pyramidal monuments. He lived in the acropolis, or citadel, which was named Larissa, and accounted moderately strong. On the ascent was a temple of *Apollo on the ridge*, which in the second century continued the seat of an oracle. The woman who prophesied, was debarred from commerce with the male sex. A lamb was sacrificed in the night, monthly; when, on tasting of the blood, she became possessed with the divinity. Farther on was a Stadium, where the Argives celebrated games in honour of Neméan Jupiter and of Juno. On the top was a temple of Jupiter, without a roof, the statue off the pedestal. In the temple of Minerva there, among other curious articles, was a wooden Jupiter, with an eye more than common, having one in the forehead. This statue, it was said, was once placed in a court of the palace of Priam, who fled as a suppliant to the altar before it, when Troy was sacked. Argos retains its original name and situation, standing near the mountains, which are the boundary of the plain, with

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Napoli and the sea in view before it. The shining houses are whitened with lime or plaster. Churches, mud-built cottages and walls, with gardens and open areas, are interspersed, and the town is of considerable extent. Above the other buildings towers a very handsome mosque, shaded with solemn cypresses; and behind, is a lofty hill, brown and naked, of a conical form, the summit crowned with a neglected castle. The devastations of time and war have effaced the old city. We inquired in vain for vestiges of its numerous edifices, the theatre, the Gymnasium, the temples and monuments, which it once boasted, contending even with Athens in antiquity, and in favours conferred by the gods. We tarried in a miserable khan during the heat of noon, and toward evening set out, with an additional baggage-horse, for a place called *The Columns*.

CHAP. LV.

Mycenæ near Argos—Agamemnon slain at Mycenæ—The city ruined—The temple of Juno—We miss the site.

THE kingdom of the Argives was divided into two portions by Acrisius and his brother Prœtus. Argos and Mycenæ were their capitals. These, as belonging to the same family, and distant only about fifty stadia, or six miles and a quarter, from each other, had one tutelary deity, Juno; and were jointly proprietors of her temple, the Heræum, which was near Mycenæ.

Agamemnon enlarged his dominions by his valour and good fortune. He possessed Mycenæ, with the region about

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Corinth and Scyon, and that called afterwards Achæa. On his return from Troy, he was slain, with his companions, at a banquet. Mycenæ then declined; and, under the Heraclidæ, was made subject to Argos.

The Mycenians, sending eighty men, partook, with the Lacedæmonians, in the glory acquired at Thermopylæ. The jealousy of the Argives produced the destruction of their city; which was abandoned after a siege, and laid waste in the first year of the seventy-eighth Olympiad.* The wall was said to have been a work of the architects, who constructed that of Tiryns, and was so strong, it could not be forced by the Argives. Some part of it remained in the second century, with a gate, on which were lions; a fountain; the subterraneous edifices, where Atreus and his sons had deposited their treasures; and, among other sepulchral monuments, one of Agamemnon, and one of his fellow soldiers and sufferers.

Argos was forty stadia, or five miles, and Mycenæ ten or fifteen stadia, about a mile and a half from the Heræum. This renowned temple was adorned with curious sculpture, and numerous statues. The image was very large, made by Polycletus, of gold and ivory, sitting on a throne. Among the offerings was a shield, taken by Menelaus from Euphorbus at Ilium; an altar of silver, on which the marriage of Hebe with Hercules was represented; a golden crown and purple robe given by Nero; and a peacock of gold, set with precious stones, dedicated by Hadrian. Near it were the remains of a more ancient temple, which had been burned; a taper setting some garlands on fire, while the priestess was asleep.

The ruin called *The Columns*, we had been informed, was

* In the year before Christ, 466.

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near the direct road to Corinth. We supposed the building to have been the temple of Jupiter at Nemea, and it was expected that, on the way to it, we should discover Mycenæ and the temple of Juno "Having re-ascended Tretus," says Pausanias, "on the left hand of the road to Argos are the ruins of Mycenæ." We crossed the wide bed of the torrent-river and the Inachus, and then travelled in a dusty road in the plain, and about sun-set arrived at Tretus. On reviewing our journey, I found with regret, that Mycenæ was at no great distance on our right, when we entered between the mountains.

CHAP. LVI.

We arrive at Nemea—Of the temple of Jupiter—The Nemean games—Ruin of the temple—Mount Apesas, &c.—A village and monastery.

THE pass of Tretus is narrow, the mountains rising on each side. The track is by a deep worn water-course, which was filled with thickets of oleander, myrtle, and ever-greens; the stream clear and shallow. Some Turks keep guard on it, to apprehend fugitives and suspected persons, living under a shed covered with boughs. Three of them, on seeing us, came to the way-side with water, which civility we requited with a few peraus. Soon after we turned out of the road to the left, and by a path, impeded with shrubs, ascended a brow of the mountain, in which are caves, ranging in the rock, the abode of shepherds in winter. One was perhaps the den of the Nemean lion, which continued to be shewn in the second century. From the ridge above them may be seen Nauplia,

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Argos, and the citadel of Corinth. We descended on the opposite side into a long valley, and had in view before us *The Columns*, or the ruin of the temple, by which the village, called Nemea, anciently stood.

The temple of Jupiter Nemeus is mentioned by Pausanias as worth seeing. The roof was then fallen, and the image had been removed. Round it was a grove of cypress-trees. The priest was chosen by the Argives, who sacrificed in the temple, and at the winter congress proposed a race for men in armour; joining this deity in their solemn invocations with Juno. One Bito, it was related, seeing them leading the victim, which was a bull toward Nemea, took it up and carried it thither on his shoulders. A statue at Argos represented him performing this feat.

The Nemean games were triennial, and celebrated in the grove, in memory of Opheltes or Archemorus, a child whom his nurse, while she conducted the Achæan captains, going against Thebes, to a fountain, placed on the grass, and, on her return, found with a serpent folded about his neck. His tomb was inclosed by a stone-fence, within which were altars, and a heap of earth marked the burial-place of his father Lycurgus. The horse-race for boys, which had been dropped, was restored to this and to the Isthmian festival by the emperor Hadrian. The Agonothetæ or presidents were elected from the neighbouring cities Argos, Corinth, and Cleonæ.

Their apparel was black. The reward of victory was a crown of parsley, which herb was fabled to have sprung from the blood of Archemorus.

The temple of Jupiter was of the Doric order, and had six columns in front. The remains are two columns supporting their architrave, with some fragments. The ruin is naked,

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and the soil round about it had been recently ploughed. We pitched our tent within the cell, on the clean and level area. The roof, it is likely, was removed soon after its fall. A wild pear tree grows among the stones on one side, but our cook found it necessary to shelter his fire with bushes of mastic, to prevent its being extinguished by the sun. We were supplied with milk and lambs from a mandra or fold in the valley, and with water from a fountain, once named the Adrastéan, at a little distance on the slope of the hill.

Beyond the temple is a remarkable summit, the top flat, and visible in the gulf of Corinth. This was probably the mountain above Nemea called Apesas, on which Perseus was said to have sacrificed to Jupiter. On one side is a ruinous church, with some rubbish, perhaps where Opheltes and his father were said to have been interred. Near is a very large spreading fig-tree. To this a most simple goatherd repaired daily before noon with his flock, which huddled together in the shade, until the extreme heat was over, and then proceeded orderly to feed in the cool upon the mountain.

Between the temple and the church is a road, which, branching from that on Tretus, crosses the valley, and passing through the opposite ridge, turns to the right to a village called Hagio Georgio, or St. George, from whence we procured tools to dig, and wine, with other necessaries. Near are vestiges, perhaps of Bembina; a village, from which, as well as from Nemea, the region was sometimes named. On the left hand, at a distance from the road, is a small romantic monastery, fixed, as it were, against the side of a steep mountain, high up. It possesses a most transparent water, and an old picture of the Panagia, or Virgin Mary, which performs

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miracles and is covered, except the face and hands, with silver. The priest shewed me in the wall a Greek sepulchral inscription, ΛΕΟΝΤΙΣ ΧΑΙΡΕ, *Leontis farewell.*

CHAP. LVII.

To Cleonæ—Arrive at Corinth—The situation—The ports—The city destroyed and re-peopled—Described by Strabo—By Pausanias—Taken by Alaric and the Turks—Its present state—A ruin.

We passed by the fountain at Nemea to regain the direct road from Argos to Corinth, re-ascending Tretus. We then travelled over a mountainous tract among low shrubs; the hills with their tops washed bare, some shining, and with channels worn in their sides; the way crossed by very deep water-courses and shallow streams. We came to a small plain, in which are some vestiges of Cleonæ; a city once overspreading a knoll or rising rock, and handsomely walled about; deserving, in the opinion of Strabo, the epithet *well-built*, bestowed on it by Homer. It is mentioned by Pausanias as a place not large, with a temple of Minerva. It was eighty stadia, or ten miles from Corinth, and fifteen stadia or near two miles from Nemea. Two ways led to Argos, which was a hundred and twenty stadia, or fifteen miles distant; one fit for couriers, and short; the other that on Tretus, likewise narrow, being inclosed by mountains, but more proper for carriages.

We continued our journey, and, coming in view of the gulf of Corinth, had on our left a plain, covered with vines and

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olive-groves. The fertility of this region was alluded to by the witty oracle, which answered a person who inquired what he should do to become rich, that he needed only to get all the land between Corinth and Sicyon. We arrived on the Isthmus, and about evening entered the town. We were hospitably received at the house of a Greek named Gorgonda Notara, a baratary, or person under the protection of the English ambassador at Constantinople. In the morning we were visited by the archons, or principal Greeks in a body, as at Athens, and by Mr. Robart, a Frenchman, agent of Mr. Keyrac, who had engrossed the trade of the Morea.

The city of Corinth stands in the Isthmus on the side of the Peloponnesus, a situation once peculiarly happy, from which also its ancient prosperity was derived. Its ports were commodiously disposed by nature, to receive the ships of Europe, and of Asia, and to render it the centre of their commerce. The circumnavigation of the Peloponnesus was tedious and uncertain to a proverb; while at the Isthmus not only their cargoes, but, if requisite, the smaller vessels, were easily transported from sea to sea. Moreover it held the keys of the peninsula, and taxed both the ingress and egress. The Isthmian games, likewise, by the concourse of people at their celebration, contributed to its opulence, which was immense. The temple of Venus possessed above a thousand female slaves, consecrated as courtezans. The prodigality of the merchants made the place so expensive, it was a saying, *that not every man could go to Corinth.* Amid this luxury it produced many able statesmen, as well as capital masters in painting, sculpture, and the fine arts in general, all which were principally nurtured there, and at Sicyon. The acrocorinthus, or citadel, was one of the horns, on which Philip

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was advised to lay hold, in order to secure the heifer, or the Peloponnesus. It has been also styled one of the fetters of Greece.

The port of Corinth, on the side of Asia, was named Cenchreæ, and distant as much as seventy stadia, or eight miles and three quarters. It was forty-five stadia, or above five miles and a half by sea from the port of Schœnus. The port toward Italy was called Lechæum. It lay beneath the city, the road to it between *long walls* reaching twelve stadia, or a mile and a half. When Xerxes had defeated the party, which guarded the strait of Thermopylæ, the Peloponnesians first destroyed the Scironian way, and then erected a wall, across the Isthmus, from the sea of Cenchreæ to that of Lechæum.

A dispute, in which the Roman senate interposed, produced a war equally fatal to Grecian liberty and to Corinth. The general of the Achæans was defeated, and flying into Arcadia, abandoned this city. Lucius Mummius, who commanded the Roman army, apprehensive of some stratagem, did not enter until the third day, though the gates stood open The Corinthians were put to the sword, or sold as captives, and the city pillaged and subverted. The historian Polybius, who was present, laments, among other articles, the unworthy treatment of the offerings, and works of art; relating that he saw exquisite and famous pictures thrown neglectfully on the ground, and the soldiers playing on them with dice. The precious spoil was among the prime ornaments of Rome, and of the places, in which it was dispersed. The town lay desolate until Julius Cæsar settled there a Roman colony, when, in moving the rubbish and digging, many vases were found, of brass or earth finely embossed. The price given for these

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curiosities excited industry in the new inhabitants. They left no burying place unexamined, and Rome, it is said, was filled with the furniture of the sepulchres of Corinth.

Strabo was at Corinth soon after its restoration by the Romans. He describes the site, as follows. " A lofty mountain, in perpendicular height as much as three stadia and a half,* the ascent thirty stadia,† ends in a pointed summit called Acrocorinthus. Of this the portion to the north is the most steep, beneath which lies the city on a level area, at the foot of the Acrocorinthus. The circuit of the city alone has been forty stadia,‡ and as much of it as was unsheltered by the mountain has been walled about. Within the inclosure was comprehended also the Acrocorinthus, where the mountain was capable of receiving a wall; and as we ascended, the vestiges were plain; so that the whole circumference exceeded eighty-five stadia.‖ On the other sides, the mountain is less steep, but rises very high, and is visible all around. Upon the summit is a small temple of Venus; and below it, the spring Pirene, which does not overflow, but is always full of pellucid and potable water. They say, it unites with some other hidden veins, and forms the spring at the mountain foot, running into the city, and affording a sufficient supply for the use of the inhabitants. In the city is plenty of wells, and in the Acrocorinthus, as they say, for we did not see any.—There they relate, the winged horse Pegasus was taken, as he was drinking, by Bellerophon.—Below Pirene is the Sisyphéum, some temple or palace of white stone, the remains not inconsiderable. From the summit is

* Near half a mile. † Three miles and three quarters.
‡ Five miles. ‖ More than ten miles and a half.

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beheld, to the north, Parnassus and Helicon, lofty mountains covered with snow; and below both, to the west, the Crissæan-gulf bounded by Phocis, by Bæotia and the Megaris, and by Corinthia and Sicyonia opposite to Phocis. Beyond all these are the mountains called the Oneian, stretching as far as Bœotia and Cithæron from the Scironian rocks on the road to Attica." Strabo saw likewise Cleonæ from thence. Cenchreæ was then a village, Lechæum had some inhabitants.

New Corinth had flourished two hundred aud seventeen years when it was visited by Pausanias. It had then a few antiquities, many temples and statues, especially about the agora, or market place, and several baths. The emperor Hadrian introduced water from a famous spring at Stymphalus in Arcadia; and it had various fountains alike copious and ornamental. The stream of one issued from a dolphin, on which was a brazen Neptune; of another, from the hoof of Pegasus, on whom Bellerophon was mounted. On the right-hand, coming along the road leading from the market-place toward Sicyon, was the odeum, and the theatre, by which was a temple of Minerva. The old gymnasium was at a distance. Going from the market-place toward Lechæum was a gate, on which were placed Phaeton and the Sun, in gilded chariots. Pirene entered a fountain of white marble, from which the current passed in an open channel. They supposed the metal called Corinthian brass to have been immerged, while red-hot, in this water. On the way up to the Acrocorinthus were temples, statues, and altars; and the gate next Tenea, a village with a temple of Apollo sixty-stadia, or seven miles and a half distant, on the road to Mycenæ. At Lechæum was a temple and a brazen image of Neptune. At Cenchreæ were temples; and by the way from the city,

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a grove of cypress-trees, sepulchres and monuments. Opposite was *The bath of Helen*, water tepid and salt, flowing plentifully from a rock into the sea. Mummius had ruined the theatre of Corinth, and the munificence of the great Athenian Atticus Herodes was displayed in an edifice with a roof, inferior to few of the most celebrated structures in Greece.

The Roman colony was reserved to suffer the same calamity as the Greek city, and from a conqueror more terrible than Mummius, Alaric, the savage destroyer of Athens and universal Greece. In a country harassed with frequent wars as the Peloponnesus has since been, the Acrocorinthus was a post too consequential to be neglected. It was besieged and taken in 1459 by Mahomet the second; the despots or lords of the Morea, brothers of the Greek emperor, who was killed in defending Constantinople, refusing payment of the arrears of the tribute, which had been imposed by Sultan Morat in 1447. The country became subject to the Turks, except such maritime places as were in the possession of the Venetians; and many of the principal inhabitants were carried away to Constanstinople. Corinth with the Morea, was yielded to the republic at the conclusion of the war in 1698, and again by it to the Turks in 1715.

Corinth retains its old name, and is of considerable extent; standing on high ground, beneath the Acrocorinthus, with an easy descent toward the gulf of Lepanto; the houses scattered or in parcels, except in the bazar or market place. Cypresses, among which tower the domes of mosques, with corn fields, and gardens of lemon and orange trees, are interspersed. The air is reputed bad in summer, and in autumn exceedingly unhealthy. The principal Corinthians

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retire into the country, from whence our host, who had been apprized of our coming, was recently arrived. We visited the archbishop, his son, a young man with a thick black beard; and saw the church, which is decorated, as usual, with portraits of saints. The extreme heat, with some other circumstances, rendered us impatient to get away; and prevented us from ascending to the Acrocorinthus, in which are a few inhabitants, as in the citadel of Athens. Wheler relates, that from the top he enjoyed one of the most agreeable prospects, which this world can afford. He guessed the walls to be about two miles in compass, inclosing mosques, with houses and churches mostly in ruins. An hour was consumed in going up on horseback. It was a mile to the foot of the hill; and from thence the way was very steep, with many traverses. The families living below were much infested by corsairs, and on every alarm flocked up to the castle. Our felucca was at anchor in the port still called Cenchreæ, now as little frequented as the Piræus. I was assured that nothing remained there, but a statue found in digging and much mutilated.

Corinth has preserved but few monuments of its Greek or Roman citizens. The chief remains are at the southwest corner of the town, and above the bazar or market, eleven columns supporting their architraves, of the Doric order, fluted, and wanting in height near half the common proportion to the diameter. Within them, toward the western end, is one taller, though not entire, which, it is likely, contributed to sustain the roof. They have been found to be stone, not marble; and appear brown, perhaps from a crust formed on the outside. The ruin is probably of very remote antiquity, and a portion of a fabric erected not only before the Greek

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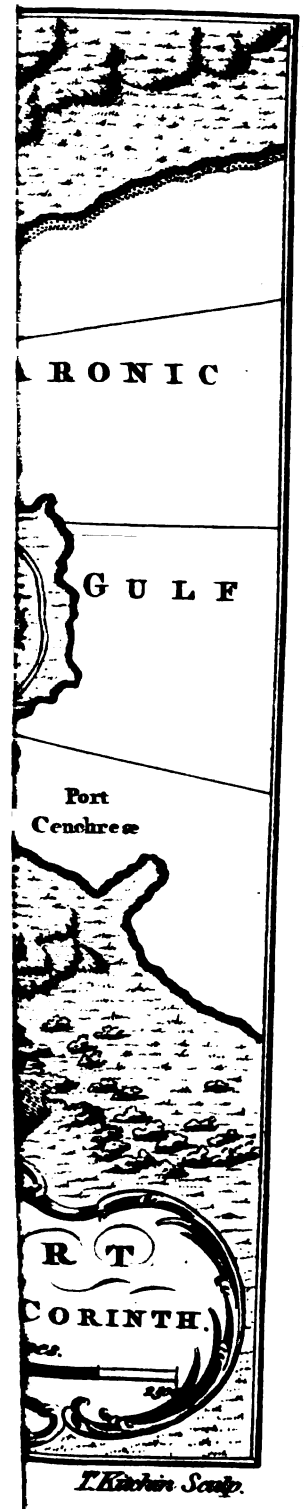

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city was destroyed, but before the Doric order had attained to maturity. I suspect it to have been the Sisyphéum mentioned by Strabo. North of the bazar stands a large mass of brick-work, a remnant, it may be conjectured, of a bath or of a gymnasium.

CHAP. LVIII.

Of the Isthmus—The place where vessels were drawn over—Attempts to unite the two seas—A wall erected across—The temple of Isthmian Neptune—The site.

The Corinthians related that Neptune and the Sun had contended for their country; that the latter obtained the Acrocorinthus, and yielded the possession of it to Venus; and that Neptune had continued proprietor of the Isthmus, which divided the Corinthian from the Saronic Gulf, and united the Peloponnesus with the continent.

The root of Mount Oneius, extending along the Isthmus, rendered the Corinthian territory, which was not rich in soil, browy and uneven, with hollows. On the side of the Corinthian Gulf the beach receded toward that of Schœnus, which was opposite. There the neck was most narrow, the interval between the two seas being only forty stadia, or five miles; and there was the diolcos, or drawing-place, at which it was usual to convey light vessels across on machines. The same practice prevailed in the wars of the Turks and Venetians.

Various attempts have been made to open a communication, between the Ionian and the Ægean seas, by a navigable cut through the Isthmus. The project was adopted by De-

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metrius Poliocertes, but his surveyors found the water in the Corinthian Gulf much higher than before Cenchreæ, and were of opinion, that Ægina and the neighbouring islands would be flooded, and the canal unserviceable. It was revived by Julius Cæsar, and by Caligula. Nero commenced a fosse from Lechæum, and advanced about four stadia, or half a mile. Atticus Herodes was ambitious of engaging in it, but as Nero had failed, was afraid of offending the emperor by asking his permission. " All those," says Pausanias, " who have endeavoured to render the Peloponnesus an island, have been prevented while labouring to divide the Isthmus. It is manifest where they began digging, and the rock is untouched. As it was made originally it remains, and is now continent.—So difficult is it for man to force nature." The vestiges of these fruitless efforts, which he saw, are still extant.

The wall erected by the Peloponnesians from sea to sea, reaching forty stadia, or five miles, crossed the Isthmus where most narrow. It was restored, or another was built, to prevent hostile incursions, under the Greek emperors. Constantine, despot, or lord of Lacedæmon, repaired this wall, which, with a town within it, was called Hexmillia, because the Isthmus there was six miles over. Sultan Morat advanced against it in the year 1447, and the despot assembled all the people of the Morea for its defence. The Turkish army ranged in equal extent on the side of the fosse, and, after mutual cannonading, made a general assault on the seventh day, which succeeded. Mahomet the second in 1451 ordered that the wall should be demolished. In the war of the Turks and Venetians in 1463 the first care of the Greeks and Albanians of the Morea was to render it again tenable, and

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the Venetians assisted, conveying stone and materials to the spot by sea, but on the approach of the enemy it was abandoned. Bajazet, in 1500, entered the country, unobstructed, at the isthmus. In 1679 the Venetians, who had subdued the whole peninsula, were busied in repairing the fence, to secure their conquests by land. The peace, concluded in the following year, made Hexmillia their boundary. A village on the western gulf is still called by that name. Pococke mentions great remains of a large square castle at the end of the wall by the sea. The passes of the mountains to the south of Corinth have also been secured with strong walls, which run high up the acclivities, and are of great extent.

The temple of the Isthmian Neptune was situated near the port of Schænus. On one side of the approach was a grove of pine-trees regularly planted; and on the other, statues of persons who had been victorious in the games. Tritons of brass were placed on the cell, which was not of the greater size, and at the entrance were two statues of Neptune, and an image of Amphitrite with the sea, likewise of brass. Among the offerings in the temple was one presented by Atticus Herodes; Neptune and Amphitrite in a chariot, and the boy Palæmon on a dolphin, all of ivory and gold; the four horses gilded, with ivory hoofs; and by them two golden Tritons, the lower parts ivory. The sculpture on the basement, beneath the chariot, represented the sea producing Venus attended by the Nereids. On the pedestal of the statue of Neptune were carved Castor and Pollux, deities propitious to vessels and mariners. On the left hand, within the inclosure, was a temple of Palæmon, in which was his image, and also Neptune and Leucothea. Another had a subterraneous passage, where they say, Palæmon was hid, and if any person,

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whether a Corinthian or stranger, swore falsely, it was impossible for him to escape punishment. They sacrificed on an ancient altar to the Cyclopes. There was also a theatre and a stadium of white stone, worth seeing. The care of the games, which had been committed to the Sicyonians, was restored to the Roman city.

I visited the site of the Isthmian temple from the port of Schœnus. It is a large level area, nearly square, about half an hour from the sea. Some pieces of pillars with a Doric capital and other fragments much injured, lie on the spot. A ruinous church standing there had in it a pedestal, and the base of a column for the sacred table. I observed the vestiges of a thick wall of massive stones, which had descended from the rock on the side of the Saronic gulf; and, taking a sweep had formed two sides of the inclosure; beyond which it was continued on the margin of a wide and very deep water-course, but disappears on the brow. At the angle, toward the sea, is a semicircular basement. Wheler saw remains of a town and of the theatre, with several old churches. The building and the repairing of the numerous fortresses, with the wall across the Isthmus and that behind Corinth, has occasioned a great removal of ancient materials from all quarters. I enquired of the goatherds, and they conducted me to various places, but neither the theatre nor the stadium were visible. A marble half-buried in the ground, by a small ruined church, was copied here in 1676. The inscription records the munificence of a high-priest, in erecting new structures, and in restoring and decorating those, which had suffered from time and earthquakes.* I searched for it un-

* Wheler, p. 438. See Museum Veronense, p. xxxix.

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successfully; and have since found, that it had been transported into Italy, and is now preserved in the museum at Verona.

CHAP. LIX.

The archbishop of Athens restored--We leave Corinth—Embark —Of Anticyra—The site.

We were informed at Corinth, that soon after our departure from Athens the archbishop had arrived there from Constantinople, and been re-instated in his see by officers commissioned for that purpose; that the bey or vaiwode had received him kindly, and ordered his musicians to attend him at his palace; and that a complete revolution had happened in his favour. Lombardi was greatly distressed and embarrassed, his intrigues defeated, disappointed in his views of revenge, unincluded in the general amnesty, fearing to return, and not knowing whither to fly.

We hired a bark belonging to the island of Zante. The sailors assisted in transporting the marbles and our baggage across the Isthmus on horses and mules. Our weather-beaten captain left us, well satisfied. We took leave of our host and of Lombardi, whose services we requited with a handsome gratuity in money, besides various presents, some of which he requested. We descended to the sea, the plain, on each side of the way, covered with caper-bushes in flower. On the shore were several huts and sheds or ware-houses; and near it were barks and small vessels lying at anchor.

While our felucca waited at Epi-yatha, the Corfiote, tc

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whom we had given a passage from Athens, seized an opportunity which offered to proceed to Corinth, where he re-joined us. We expected to find him again at the sea-side, but he was gone by land to Patræ, and we saw him no more. On embarking, we were saluted with a discharge of pop-guns or chambres. Our janizary and one of our Greeks left us with many friendly wishes of prosperity and a happy voyage, intending to return to Athens. In the evening we sailed, but had little wind, and the following day after noon we put into a bay in Phocis, on the north side of the gulf.

The Phocéans seizing the temple of Apollo at Delphi, a war, called *the sacred*, commenced, and lasted ten years; when Philip, father of Alexander the great, avenged the god by destroying many of the cities of the pillagers. Anticyra, one of the number, was situated in this bay, not far from the ruins of Medeon, which, with Ambrussus and Stiris suffered the same punishment. This place was again taken and subverted by Atilius, a Roman general, in the war with the Macedonians. It afterwards became famous for its hellebore. That drug was the root of a plant, the chief produce of the rocky mountains above the city, and of two kinds; the black, which had a purgative quality; and the white, which was an emetic. Sick persons resorted to Anticyra to take the medicine, which was prepared there by a peculiar and very excellent recipe. By the port in the second century was a temple of Neptune, not large, built with selected stones, and the inside white-washed; the statue of brass. The agora, or market-place, was adorned with images of the same metal; and above it was a well with a spring, sheltered from the sun by a roof supported by columns. A little higher was a monument formed with such stones as occurred, and designed,

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it was said, for the sons of Iphitus. One of these, Schedius, was killed by Hector, while fighting for the body of Patroclus, but his bones were transported to Anticyra; where his brother died after his return from Troy About two stadia, or a quarter of a mile distant, was a high rock, a portion of the mountain, on which a temple of Diana stood, the image bigger than a large woman, and made by Praxiteles.

The walls and other edifices at Anticyra, were probably erected, like the temple of Neptune, with stones or pebbles. The site is now called Asprospitia, or *The White Houses;* and some traces of the buildings, from which it was so named, remain. The port is land-locked, and frequented by vessels for corn. Some paces up from the sea is a fountain. At night it blew hard, but we could get no shelter from the wind on shore. Our carpets and coverlets were spread on the poop of our bark, and the men lay on the deck. From that time we began to be sickly; the gulf, with the coasts of the Morea, being infamous for a bad air, especially at this season, or toward autumn.

CHAP. LX.

At Dystomo—An insciption—Ambryssus—The road to Anticyra.

On our arrival at Asprospitia, we dispatched men to Dystomo, a village two hours distant, to hire such beasts as the place afforded, to carry us to the monastery of St. Luke, and to Castri or Delphi. The people were busy at harvest, and declined sending any before the next morning, when a

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train of asses and mules came early down to to sea-side, with peasants to guide and attend them on foot. Our bark was ordered to wait in the port of Salona. The captain, with two or three sailors, accompanied us. We bestrode our beasts, and soon after began to ascend a lofty mountain by a steep road partly paved. We gained the summit, beyond which is Dystomo, where we refreshed at the house of an Albanian.

We pursued our journey to the monastery of St. Luke, and returned to Dystomo in the evening; when we were told, that an inscription had been discovered in one of the cottages. I was pleased in copying it, by candle-light, to find it preserved the name of the antient inhabitants. It is on a pedestal of rough stone, which has supported a statue of the emperor Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus, decreed by the senate, and erected by the city of Ambrussus.

The Athenians and Thebans restored Ambrussus and Stiris, with other cities of Phocis, which Philip had destroyed. The latter people, when the war distinguished by the fatal battle of Chæronea commenced, surrounded Ambrussus with a double wall of the stone of the country, which was dark coloured and exceedingly hard; each circle wanting a little of an orgyia, or of six feet in width, the space between them one orgyia, and their height two and a half, when entire; without battlements, towers, and the accustomed ornaments, as constructed for immediate defence. This fortification ranked, in the second century, among the most noted for strength and solidity. Many of the statues of stone in the market-place, which was not large, were then broken. Remnants of the wall may still be seen without the village, which is situated, as the city was, under Mount Parnassus.

The road from Ambrussus to Anticyra is described as at

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first up hill, but, after ascending about two stadia, or a quarter of a mile, the ground became level. On the right was a temple of Diana, with an image of black stone much reverenced by the Ambryssensians. The way from thence was down a declivity.

CHAP. LXI.

Way from Ambryssus to Stiris—Of Stiris—Inscriptions.

We turned eastward from Dystomo, and in an hour and a half reached the monastery of St. Luke, beneath which in a valley, is the site of Stiris, now called Palæa-Stiri. This city was about sixty stadia, or seven miles and a half from Ambryssus, the way in a plain lying between mountains, the part belonging to Ambryssus planted chiefly with vines, and with a shrub by some called Coccus, disposed in rows, and producing a scarlet dye. The colour was the blood of a short insect bred in the berries, which were gathered before they were ripe, because it then took wing, resembling a gnat. The level is now without vines or shrubs, but cultivated. It is high above the sea, and encompassed with mountains reaching to the sky.

Stiris derived its name from a town in Attica, and the people, it was believed, were originally, Athenians expelled by Ægeus. It was subject from its situation to scarcity of water in summer; the wells, which were few, furnishing only such as would serve for washing, and for cattle. The inhabitants were supplied by a fountain hewn in the rock, about four stadia, or half a mile distant. They had a temple of

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Ceres, of unbaked brick; the image of Pentelic marble. The place is now desolate, but not without some vestiges.

The monastery of St. Luke was raised with the materials of Stiris. Several inscriptions were fixed in the walls: some so high as not to be legible. One, copied by Wheler, records the persons, who defrayed the expence of making the channel for water, and of building the fountain; from which it was probably removed. We found a stone of the sepulchral class, inscribed only with the name of the deceased *Pyrrhicus*. Stiris was one hundred and twenty stadia, or fifteen miles from Chæronea, in Bœotia, the way mostly rough and mountainous.

CHAP. LXII.

Summary of the life of St. Luke of Stiris.

St. Luke of Stiris flourished in the tenth century. He is commemorated by the Greek church on the seventh of February, and styled in the Menology, *The glory of Hellas*, or Greece; but the history given of him is superficial and unsatisfactory. The learned Combefis in 1648, published extracts of his life from a manuscript in the library of the French king. The *holy father* and *wonder-worker* was before so much forgotten, that he is unnoticed by Baronius. A translation of the whole record may be found in the Latin acts of the Saints. The author was a disciple of St. Luke, is diffuse, and inclines to the marvellous. The following summary will display the wretchedness of Greece after the decline of the Roman em-

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pire, and, like a mirror, reflect a portrait of the times, to which it refers.

St. Luke, junior, was so named to distinguish him from another saint, who lived under the same emperors. He was descended of a family, which had fled from Ægina, that island being harassed by the Saracens in possession of Crete, and settled first by the mountain of St John in Phocis, but pirates infesting the seas and coast, removed to a port called Bathys, where Stephen the father of Luke was born; and from thence to a village called Castorium. Luke was seized at an early age with the frenzy of the times, and resolving to be a hermit, retired about the year 908, when he was eighteen years old, to the above mountain, commonly called Johanitza; his mother Euphrosyne consenting with reluctance. He was invested with the divine and apostolical habit, as it was termed, by two aged monks on their way to Rome. In the seventh year of his abode in that solitude, the Bulgarians under Symeon, made an irruption into the empire. Eubæa and the Peloponnesus were filled with fugitives, and Luke, with a multitude, passed over to the neighbouring islands He escaped his pursuers by swimming, and arrived at Corinth, where, as he was illiterate, he went to school. At Patræ was one of the living statues, then not infrequent; a madman standing on a column. To this Stylites did Luke minister for ten years, fishing, getting wood, and dressing victuals; preventing him from starving, and enabling him to preserve his footing on his pedestal.

Peter, who succeeded Symeon, making peace with the Romans in 927, Luke returned te Johanitza. From thence, for greater privacy, he withdrew to Calabium. In 934, some

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of the Turkish race overrunning the country, he took refuge in an islet named Ampelon; and resided three years on that dry and barren rock, often distressed for food and water, when the winds were rough and the seas impassable. He removed next to the spot, which, says the biographer, saw him die, and is now enriched by his sacred reliques.* The companions of his late danger represented it to him, that he was continually disturbed on the islet by boats and passengers. They prevailed on him to leave it, and conducted him to a place delectable indeed, cool and silent, with plenty of limpid water to allay his thirst, or to promote vegetation; and scarcely accessible to man. Luke cleared the wood, planted a variety of herbs and trees, was hourly employed in improving and adorning his garden, and in rendering it a terrestrial paradise. He erected his cell afar off from it, and the fountain, for concealment, among some thickets.

Luke was now in high reputation, admired for his austerities, revered for the sanctity of his deportment, and regarded as a prophet. After seven years he called together his friends and neighbours, and taking an affectionate farewel, desired their prayers, for it was uncertain whether they should meet again. He returned to his cell, and lingered some months,

* Many names of places in Greece were corrupted or changed in this century. Crissa, it is likely, is intended by the author, where he mentions τω Χρυσω επαρχιαν—τα τη Χρυσω μερη. Bathys, it is supposed, was opposite to Eubœa, and, with Castorium, in Thessaly; Calabium, in Attica; Ampelon, one of the islets of the Saronic gulf. Luke retired finally, it is said, to Σωτηριω χωρον. The editor of *Acta. S. S.* supposes this name derived from the cures effected by the dead saint, and afterwards contracted into Ετηριον; but the true reading is, Στηριω χωρον. Thus in the lives of the Saints, Luke, we read, γενομενος αιτιος σριας (sc. σωτηριας)—φθανει εισ τον τοπον τω Στηριω. This place was Stiris.

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when his fever increasing, he died, much lamented; the people flocking to attend his sick-bed, though it was winter, the weather exceedingly severe, and the ways, after an immense fall of snow, almost impassable.

Luke had directed Gregory, a Presbyter, to dig beneath where he lay, and bury him; adding, that God would glorify the spot, and occasion it to be visited by multitudes of the faithful. He obeyed, and depositing the sacred body publicly, as a common treasure, with the usual ceremonies, replaced the brick pavement. After six months, a monk and eunuch named Cosmas, stopping on his passage to Italy, was conducted, as by a divine hand, to the hermitage and cell of Luke, which pleased him so much, that he vowed never to leave it; and seeing his grave neglected, he raised the holy coffin above the ground, and inclosed it in a tomb, encompassed with rails to prevent any from touching it, but those who were disposed to approach with devotion.

The pious care of Cosmas was not unrewarded. Two years after, some of his followers perceived a fragrant oil flowing plentifully from the holy coffin. This incited them to erect cells; to decorate, as well as they were able, the rude church of St. Barbara; and to provide small houses for the accommodation of strangers; believing, it may be presumed, with the editor of the life, that this property, for which several sanctified carcasses have been renowned, was not bestowed by God but as a testimony that the body should prove an invaluable fountain of medicine. Many miraculous cures were performed. The fame of the saint was propagated. His cell was converted into a handsome oratory in the shape of a cross; and numbers repaired to his tomb, as to another Siloe.

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CHAP. LXIII.

The monastery of St. Luke—The founder—The church—The reliques of St. Luke—The tombs of the emperor Romanus and his queen—The hermitage.

THE monastery of St. Luke is a barbarous edifice, and of an ordinary appearance. Near it, by the road-side, is erected a wooden cross. It is reckoned two hours from the sea, and four west of Lebadea. The apartments or cells are very mean. The number of monks was then a hundred and twenty, most of them absent, keeping flocks or employed in agriculture. We were entertained by the hegumenos, or abbot, who told us that the convent was greatly in debt, and that they suffered much from exactions, besides paying to the amount of a hundred and seventy-five pounds sterling yearly tribute to the Turks. The air is bad, and water distant. It is likely they go to the fountain, which supplied the inhabitants of Stiris.

In the church is a copy of Iambic verses in two columns, in an antiquated hand, hung up in a frame, and containing a panegyric, on the monastery, written soon after it was built. I copied them from a transcript, produced by the abbot, which had a prose-exposition in more modern Greek, placed opposite. The author informs us, that Romanus Porphyrogennetus was the founder. This emperor was the son of Constantine Porphyrogennetus, who was descended from Flavius Basilius, a Macedonian, of Armenian origin, and of the race of the Arsacidæ. He was crowned in 945, or about the

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time when Luke died, by his father, and, at the instigation of his wife, endeavoured to destroy him by poison, but he survived until 960. Romanus died in 963, about two years after the taking of Crete. Theophano was made regent for her sons, and lived several years. A firm attachment to Romanus is recommended in the Iambics. St. Luke was said to have foretold, that Crete would be subdued under an emperor of that name. His biographer observes, that this prophesy had been fulfilled, but, it is remarkable, does not mention the regard shown by Romanus to his favourite saint.

The monastery of St. Luke is styled by its panegyrist the glory of Hellas, and the queen of all monasteries, on account of its church, which for magnificence and the grandeur of its proportions, is not equalled perhaps in all Greece. This sumptuous fabric within retains the shape of the oratory, into which the cell of Luke was changed. It has suffered greatly, as might be expected, from age and earthquakes; and the outside is much encumbered, and deformed by the addition of huge buttresses to support the walls, and by the stopping up of several windows, particularly those of the principal dome. The inside is lined with polished marble, impannelled; but some of the chapels have been stripped. The pavement is inlaid with various colours artfully disposed. The domes are decorated with painting and gilding in Mosaic, well executed; representing holy personages and scriptural stories. The gallery is illuminated with pieces of the transparent marble, called Phengites, fixed in the wall in square compartments, and shedding a yellow light; but without, resembling common stone and rudely carved. A fabric thus splendid in decay, must have been, when recently finished, exceedingly glorious. The encomiast extols it as the rival

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of St. Sophia at Constantinople, and the crown of the beauties of Hellas.

The precious reliques of the thrice blessed Luke were the important treasure, which once ennobled this church. Among the cures effected by them and recorded by his biographer, one is of a Dæmoniac. In a distich in the Menology, it is affirmed, he had filled Hellas with miracles, and continued them, though dead. In the service of the day, to omit other eulogiums, he is addressed as repelling evil affections; as healing lepers and all diseases; as giving sight to the blind; restoring the use of limbs; and dispensing an universal panacèum. The abbot showed us a small sarcophagus, or coffin, with a wooden lid, and a cover before it, in a chapel or recess. This was the casket, but he could not inform us what portion of the saint it had contained, or by whom or whither removed. He related, that the marble pannel on each side formerly exuded an ointment of prodigious virtue; a tale received by some of our company with much reverence and crossing. The entire body, it is probable, was deemed early too rich a jewel to be possessed by one spot; for in a catalogue of the reliques, which belonged to the great church of the monastery of St. Laura at Mount Athos, is mentioned a part of St. Luke Stiriotes. He produced likewise some old pictures of the Panagia, or Virgin Mary, painted on wood, with a fine portrait of St. Luke the evangelist, which had been procured from Muscovy.

Beneath the church is an extensive vault, in which mass is celebrated on certain festivals. There is the cemetery of the monks. The body is inclosed in an horizontal niche on a bier, which is taken out when wanted. The bones, are washed with wine, and thrown on a heap. In the area

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are two flat tombs raised above the floor. The marble slab on the top of one of them is plain, except a Greek cross engraved on the right side. In the other a plate of brass or metal has been fixed, with an inscription. They were erected, as the abbot informed us, over the founder Romanus and the empress his wife.

The spot cultivated by Luke was possessed in 1676, by a hermit, whom Wheler visited. The way from the monastery was down the hill to the south; across a small river in a pleasant plain, planted with vines and olive-trees; and then up a steep rock, cut wide enough for two carts to pass, the ascent easy. On the top were ruins of a town and castle; and beneath, a metochi or farm near a port, in which the caloyers, or monks fish, and vessels load with corn. He turned to the left over a craggy ridge, and arrived at the hermitage, situated on the south-east side of a rock, and distant a mile and a half from the monastery. The garden was large, with a cell and a pretty oratory at the upper end. Below was a fountain of good water; and beyond it, a river, which descended in a cascade from the high cliffs of Mount Zagara or Helicon; and passed by, murmuring among the vast rocks and stones in its channel. The hoary head of the hermit, who was clothed in a long brown garment, resembled the snowy summits. He carved scriptural stories on crosses with admirable art, and was esteemed a saint. An humble companion ministered to him, as Luke to Stylites. Two caloyers, or monks, who lived in a hut beneath, produced bread and olives, white honeycomb, and excellent wine, for the refreshment of our traveller; who was so charmed with the harmony of birds, and the natural beauties of the place, and so soothed with the

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idea of enjoying perfect peace and innocence, that, as he relates, he was near resolving to bid adieu to a vain world, and like another Cosmas, to fix his abode there.

CHAP. LXIV.

Of Bulis—Places on the coast between Bulis and the isthmus—The bay of Livadostro—Ascra—Mount Helicon—The grove of the Muses—Of the site, &c.

ANTICYRA had on the east, or the side next to the isthmus, the town of Bulis. The mountains, which intervened, were scarcely passable. The port was one hundred stadia, or twelve miles and a half on the way to Lechæum. The town was seated on high, at the distance of about seven stadia, or near a mile. By the track, ascending to it, was a torrent river, called Heraclius, running into the sea. A fountain was called Saunium. The inhabitants were mostly employed in procuring the shell-fish, which yielded a purple colour. Bulis as well as Stiris was abandoned in the tenth century, and both the cell and garden of Luke had ruin and desolation in their vicinity.

Bulis was on the confines of Bœotia and Phocis. Mychus, the last harbour of Phocis, was in a bay or recess, the deepest of any in the gulf. Beyond it was Mount Helicon, and Ascra and Thespiæ, with its port Creusa: and more within Pagæ and Oenoe, one bounding the Megaris, the other Corinthia. Pagæ and the port of Schœnus were nearly equidistant from the Piræus. Between Pagæ and Lechæum was Olmiæ, a promontory opposite to Sicyon, making the

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recess; once the seat of an oracle of Juno. From thence the passage over to Corinth was about seven miles and a half.

The course of vessels crossing from the Peloponnesus to the port of Thespiæ was crooked, with a rough sea broken by capes and liable to violent gusts and eddies of wind from the mountains. Sailing from thence, not up the bay, but along the coast or toward Phocis, you came to the port of Thisbe; and, crossing a mountain by the sea, entered a plain, beyond which was another mountain, with the city at its feet, on the borders of Thespiæ and Coronea. The plain would have been a lake, but a strong mound was made across it, and by confining the waters, rescued a portion, which was cultivated. Thisbe was eighty stadia, or ten miles from Bulis, and its port one hundred and sixty stadia, or twenty miles from Sicyon. The rocks near it abounded in doves. Sailing on as before, you come to Tipha, a small town by the sea.

The gulf or recess within Olmiæ is now called the bay of Livadostro. It is overlooked on the north by Mount Elatea or Cithæron, which ends by the harbour of St. Basilio, once Creusa. Beyond a ridge, which commences there, is the harbour of Livadostro, or of Thisbe. Farther on westward, a very high rock runs into the sea; after which is a port and town called Cacos, once Typha. Helicon begins there to soar aloft, until its head reaches above the clouds. By the promontory, which lies west-south-west from St. Basilio, are four islands, called Calanesia, or *The good islands*. From St. Basilio, Wheler arrived in about an hour at the town of that name, which had been recently ruined by pirates. The remains of antiquity, and the situation, as connected with the port, render it probable that was Thespiæ. He descended

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from a lofty village named Rimocastri to Castri, or the ruins of Thisbe, near a large plain and a stagnant lake. At Livadostro was an old tower and a church, frequented by mariners.*

Ascra, the birth-place of Hesiod, was in the territory of Thespiæ, on the right side of Helicon, distant from the city about forty stadia, or five miles. It stood on a high and rough spot, and is characterized by the poet as a wretched village, not pleasant in any part of the year; but the soil produced corn. A tower only remained there in the second century.

Helicon was one of the most fertile and woody mountains in Greece. On it the fruit of the adrachnus, a species of arbutus, or of the strawberry tree, was uncommonly sweet; and the inhabitants affirmed, that the plants and roots were all friendly to man; and that even the serpents had their poison weakened by the innoxious qualities of their food. It approached Parnassus on the north, where it touched on Phocis; and resembled that mountain in loftiness, extent, and magnitude.

The Muses were the proprietors of Helicon. There was their shady grove, and their images; with statues of Apollo and Bacchus, and Linus and Orpheus, and the illustrious poets, who had recited their verses to the harp. Among the tripods, in the second century, was that consecrated by He-

* Wheler found ruins, as he supposes, of Thespiæ, on a hill about four miles from Rimocastri westward, and five or six from Cacos; but this site cannot be reconciled with the geographers. It seems to have been Coronea. See Strabo, p. 411.

The ruins beyond St. Basilio called Palæocastro, on the way to Thebes, were, it is likely, Haliartus. See Pausanias, p. 306.

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siod. On the left hand, going to the grove, was the fountain Aganippe; and about twenty stadia, or two miles and a half higher up, the violet-coloured Hippocrene. Round the grove were houses. A festival was celebrated there by the Thespiéans, with games called Muséa. The valleys of Helicon are described by Wheler as green and flowery in the spring; and enlivened by pleasing cascades and streams, and by fountains and wells of clear water.

The Bœotian cities in general, two or three excepted, were reduced to inconsiderable villages in the time of Strabo. The grove of the Muses was plundered under the auspices of Constantine the Great. The Heliconian goddesses were afterwards consumed in a fire at Constantinople, to which city they had been removed. Their ancient seat on the mountain, Aganippe, and Hippocrene, are unascertained. Narcissus too is forgotten. The limpid basin, in which he gazed, was shewn in the Thespian territory, and the flower, into which he was changed, continues to love and to adorn its native soil. It abounded in that region, and was very fragrant in the month of April.

CHAP. LXV.

We leave Dystomo—The way called Schiste—The road into Phocis from Bœotia—Of Orchomenus and Chæronea—We arrive at Delphi.

We set out from Dystomo early in the morning for Castri or Delphi. The city was on the south side of Parnassus, with an abrupt mountain named Cerphis before it; and a river called the Pleistus running through a grove beneath.

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We travelled some time with the sea behind us, and afterwards, turning to the left, came on the road anciently called Schiste, or *The Rent*, lying between the lofty mountains Cirphis and Parnassus, and once deemed to be polluted with the blood of Laius, who was killed there by Œdipus; a principal event in his renowned and tragical story.

A road led into Phocis and to Delphi from Bœotia. On this stood Chæronea, near which were the cities of Orchomenus and Lebadea. Panopeus was distant twenty stadia, or two miles and a half from Chæronea, and Daulis seven stadia more, or near a mile; after which was Schiste. The bodies of Laius and his servant were buried where three ways met, or where the road from Dystomo branches off to Daulis and to Delphi. Their graves were marked with heaps of stones, perhaps still to be seen.

The treasury of Minyas, a fabric of remote antiquity, remained entire at Orchomenus in the second century. It is described as a circular edifice of stone, with a roof artfully constructed, and as a wonder not inferior to any in Greece or elsewhere. By Chæronea was a barrow with a lion on the top, beneath which the Thebans were interred, who perished in the battle with Philip. A traveller into these countries, under the guidance of Pausanias, will discover classical monuments, natural and artificial curiosities, and vestiges of remarkable buildings and places not hitherto explored.

It was now the beginning of July, but the summits of the mountains were white with snow. Many rills descend, and fertilize a few spots bearing grain, vines, and the cotton-plant. We saw snakes near the water by the road-side, and peasants reaping with green wreaths to defend their heads from the sun. At length, leaving Schiste, we turned to the right, and

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began to ascend an acclivity of Parnassus, the track stony and rough, difficult even to a person on foot. We passed the stream of the Pleistus, which turns an over-shot mill; and, after a wearisome ride of about five hours, alighted at a monastery of the Panagia, or Virgin Mary. We found there a caloyer, or monk, and an old woman, who supplied us with good wine. Our lodging was in the portico of the church, which is supported by broken and ill-matched columns.

CHAP. LXVI.

Sanctity of Delphi—The Amphictyonic assembly—The oracle—The temple—Its riches—Its decline.

DELPHI was the chief and most illustrious city in Phocis. Its sanctity was deduced through a long succession of ages, from a period involved in fable and obscurity. The influence of its god has controlled the councils of states, directed the course of armies, and decided the fate of kingdoms. The ancient history of Greece is full of his energy, and an early register of his authority.

The circumjacent cities were the stewards and guardians of the god. Their deputies composed the famous Amphictyonic assembly, which once guided Greece. It was convened in spring and autumn at Delphi or Thermopylæ. The Romans abolished that and the Achæan congress, but both were revived. Pausanias, who wrote about the year of the Christian era one hundred and seventy-five, mentions the former as then consisting of thirty persons. They presided at the Pythian games, which were celebrated every fifth

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year at Delphi, and bestowed the reward of victory, a crown of laurel.

The oracular power was supposed to reside in a deep cavern, with a small and narrow mouth, said to have been discovered by goatherds, who were inspired by the vapour, which arose out of it, and prophesied as from Apollo. A lofty tripod, decked with laurel, was placed over the aperture. The Pythia or priestess, after washing her body, and especially her hair in the cold water of Castalia, mounted on it, to receive the divine effluvia. She wore a crown of laurel, and shook a sacred tree, which grew by. Sometimes she chewed the leaves; and the frenzy, which followed, may with probability be attributed to this usage, and the gentler or more violent symptoms to the quantity taken. In one instance the paroxysm was so terrible, that the priests and the suppliants ran away, and left her alone to expire, it was believed, of the god. Her part was unpleasant, but if she declined acting, they dragged her by force to the tripod. The habit of her order was that of virgins. The rules enjoined temperance and chastity, and prohibited luxury in apparel. The season of inquiry was in the spring, during the month called Busius; after which Apollo was supposed to visit the altars of the Hyperboreans. Delphi was conveniently situated for the conflux of votaries, lying in the centre of Greece, and, as was then imagined, of the universe. The god prospered in his business. His servants and priests feasted on the numerous victims, which were sacrificed to him; and the riches of his temple were proverbial, even before the war of Troy.

The temple of Apollo, it is related, was at first a kind of cottage covered with boughs of laurel; but he was early provided with a better habitation. An edifice of stone was

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erected by Trophonius and Agamedes, which subsisted about seven hundred years, and was burned in the year six hundred and thirty six after the taking of Troy, and five hundred and forty eight before Christ. It is mentioned in the hymn to Apollo ascribed to Homer. An opulent and illustrious family, called Alcmæonidæ, which had fled from Athens, and the tyrant Hippias, contracted with the deputies for the building of a new temple, and exceeded their agreement. The front was raised with Parian marble, instead of the stone called Porus; which resembled it in whiteness, but was not so heavy. A Corinthian was the architect. This temple is described by Pausanias. The pediments were adorned with Diana, and Apollo, and the Muses; the setting of Phœbus or the Sun; with Bacchus, and the women called Thyades. The architraves were decorated with golden armour; bucklers suspended by the Athenians after the battle of Marathon, and shields taken from the Gauls under Brennus. In the portico were inscribed the celebrated maxims of the seven sages of Greece. There was an image of Homer, and in the cell was an altar of Neptune, with statues of the Fates, and of Jupiter and Apollo, who were surnamed *Leaders of the Fates.* Near the hearth before the altar, at which Neoptolemus the son of Achilles was slain by a priest, stood the iron chair of Pindar. In the sanctuary was an image of Apollo gilded. The inclosure was of great extent, and filled with treasuries, in which many cities had consecrated tenths of spoil taken in war, and with the public donations of renowned states in various ages. It was the grand repository of ancient Greece, in which the labours of the sculptor and statuary, gods, heroes, and illustrious persons, were seen collected and arranged; the inequalities of

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the area, or acclivity, contributing to a full display of the noble assemblage.

It is observed by Strabo that great riches, though the property of a god, are not easily secured. Several attempts to rob Apollo are on record. Neoptolemus was slain, while sacrificing, on suspicion. Xerxes divided his army at Panopeus, and proceeded with the main body through Bœotia into Attica, while a party, keeping Parnassus on the right, advanced along Schiste to Delphi, but was taken with a panic, as near Ilium, and fled. This monarch, it is related, was as well apprized of the contents of the temple, and the sumptuous offerings of Halyattes, and Crœsus, as of the effects which he had left behind in his own palace. The divine hoard was seized by the Phocensians under Philomelus, and dissipated in a long war with the Amphictyons. The Gauls experienced a reception like that of the Persians, and manifested similar dismay and superstition. Sylla, wanting money to pay his army, sent to borrow from the holy treasury, and when his messenger would have frightened him by reporting a prodigy, that the sound of a harp had been heard from within the sanctuary, replied, It was a sign that the god was happy to oblige him.

The trade of Apollo, after it had flourished for a long period, was affected by the male practices of some concerned in the partnership, who were convicted of bribery and corruption, and ruined the character of their principal. The temple, in the time of Strabo, was reduced to extreme poverty, but the offerings, which remained, were very numerous. Apollo was silent, except some efforts at intervals to regain his lost credit. Nero attempted to drive him, as it were by violence,

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from the cavern; killing men at the mouth, and polluting it with blood; but he lingered on, and would not entirely forsake it. Answers were reported as given by him afterwards, but not without suspicion of forgery. An oracle of Apollo at another place informed the consulters, that he should no more recover utterance at Delphi, but enjoined the continuance of the accustomed offerings.

CHAP. LXVII.

Site of Delphi—The court of the temple—Extinction of Apollo—Vestiges—An inscription—Other inscriptions—Castalia.

The city of Delphi was seated on a high rock, with the oracle above it; and was in circuit sixteen stadia, or two miles. The natural strength of the place excited admiration, as much as the majesty of the god. It was free under the Romans. Pausanias has described it. Near the entrance from Schiste was a temple in ruins, with one empty. A third contained a few images of Roman emperors. Beyond these was the temple of Minerva, styled Pronæa, because after it was the principal temple, that of Apollo. There the god interposed to repel the Persians. By the temple of Minerva was the portion of Phylacus, an heroum, or monument. His spectre, it was believed, had appeared to the Persians and to the Gauls, in armour, huge and tall. A court of the Gymnasium was said to have been the birth-place of the wild sow, which wounded Ulysses. Turning from it to the left, and going down not more than three stadia, less than half a mile, you come to the stream of the Pleistus. Proceeding up to

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the temple of Apollo, on the right hand, was the water of Castalia, sweet to drink. The houses, with the sacred inclosure of the temple, which overlooked the city, stood on an acclivity. The area, or court, within the wall, was large, and many ways were cut, leading out of it. A Sibyl was said to have chaunted her oracles from a prominent rock above the Athenian portico. Coming out of the temple, the wall was on the left, and also the tomb of Neoptolemus, to whom the Delphians made yearly oblations. Higher up was a stone, not big, on which they poured oil daily, and upon festivals put white wool. On the way back to the temple was the fountain Cassotis, and a wall with a passage up to it. The water was said to run underground, and, in the sanctuary of the temple, to render women prophetical. Above Cassotis was a building called Lesche, in which the story of Troy was painted by Polygnotus, with equal skill and labour. In the sacred inclosure was a theatre worthy of notice. Without it and above all, was a stadium, constructed originally with the stone of Parnassus, which had been changed for Pentelic marble, at the expense of Atticus Herodes.

Apollo, though frequently pillaged, and poor in money and plate, was still possessed of an invaluable treasure in the offerings, which remained within the court of his temple. The number, variety, and beauty of these monuments was prodigious. Some were venerable for their antiquity, and the occasions on which they had been dedicated. The inscriptions were authentic records, pregnant with information. The Greek was here deeply interested, perusing the national story, and viewing his famous countrymen, or illustrious ancestors. The store appeared inexhaustible, and the robbery of Nero, who removed five hundred brazen images, was ra-

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ther regretted than perceived. The holy treasuries, though empty, served as memorials of the piety and glory of the cities which erected them. The Athenian portico preserved the beaks of ships, and the brazen shields, trophies won in the Pelponnesian war. A multitude of curiosities was untouched. The account given of them by Pausanias may convey some idea of the opulence of the spot, which indeed was amazing, even after repeated diminution.

Constantine the Great proved a more fatal enemy to Apollo and Delphi than either Sylla or Nero. He removed the sacred tripods to adorn the Hippodrome of his new city; where these, with the Apollo, the statues of his Heliconian Muses, and the celebrated Pan, dedicated by the Greek cities after the war with the Medes, were extant, when Sozomen wrote his history. Afterwards Julian sent Oribasius to restore the temple; but he was admonished, by an oracle to represent to the emperor the deplorable condition of the place. "Tell him the well built court is fallen to the ground. Phœbus has not a cottage, nor the prophetic laurel, nor the speaking fountain (Cassotis); but even the beautiful water is extinct."

We passed by many broken sarcophagi, or stone coffins, when we approached the monastery. Higher up, on the right-hand, was a square ruin with a small door-way, perhaps the basement of the monument of Phylacus. The masonry is of the species termed Incertum. Some vestiges of temples are visible; and above them, in the mountain-side, are sepulchres, niches with horizontal cavities for the body, some covered with slabs. Farther on is a niche cut in the rock, with a seat, intended, it seems, for the accommodation of travellers wearied with the rugged track, and the long ascent.

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On a part smoothed is engraved a large cross. The monastery is on the site of the gymnasium. Strong terrace walls and other traces of a large edifice remain. In the wall of the church was a marble, inscribed, ΑΙΑΚΙΔΑΧΑΙΡΕ *Æcides, farewell*; and on another, within an olive crown,

ΟΔΗΜΟΣΟΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ

ΠΥΘΙΟΙΣ.

In the pavement within was a long inscription, the letters effaced. We found also several architectural fragments. The village is at a distance. Castalia is on the right hand as you ascend to it, the water coming from on high, and crossing the road; a steep precipice, above which the mountain still rises immensely, continuing on in that direction. The village consists of a few poor cottages of Albanians, covering the site of the temple and oracle. Beneath it, to the south, is a church of St. Elias, with areas, terrace walls, arches, and vestiges of the buildings once within the court. The concavity of the rock, in this part, gave to the site the resemblance of a theatre. Turning to the left hand, as it were toward the extremity of one of the wings, you come again to sepulchres hewn in the rock, and to a semicircular recess, or niche, with a seat as on the other side. Higher up than the village is the hollow of the stadium, in which were some seats and scattered fragments.

At the village we searched for a piece of wall, of the masonry, termed Incertum, from which Mr. Wood had copied several inscriptions. We discovered a stone of it, containing, besides some other lines, a decree in honour of an Athenian living in Ætolia, the sacred herald of the Amphyctions; giving him from the god a crown of laurel, with various pri-

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vileges, one of which is precedence at the games. The letters were fair, but with gaps between them, the surface appearing as eaten by time, and resembling honeycomb, of a white colour. This, it is likely, was the stone called Porus. A specimen of it may be seen in the collection of marbles at Oxford. The remnant of wall was probably a portion of the cell of the temple, which fronted the road from Castalia.

Higher up, within the village, is a piece of ancient wall, concealed from view by a shed, which it supports. The stone is brown, rough, and ordinary, probably that of Parnassus. On the south side are many inscriptions, with wide gaps between the letters, which are negligently and faintly cut; all nearly of the same tenor, and very difficult to copy. They register the purchase of slaves, who had entrusted the price of their freedom to the god; containing the contract between Apollo and their owners, witnessed by his priests and by some of the archons. This remnant seems to be part of the wall before Cassotis; as above it is still a fountain, which supplies the village with excellent water, it is likely, from the ancient source.

The water of Castalia, from which the Pythia and the poets, who versified her answers, were believed to derive a large share of their inspiration, descends through a cleft of Parnassus; the rock on each side high and steep, ending in two summits, of which one was called Hyampeia, and had beneath it the sacred portion of Autonous, a local hero as distinguished as Phylacus. From this precipice the Delphians threw down the famous Æsop. By the stream, within the cleft, are small broken stairs leading to a cavity, in which is water, and once perhaps up to the top. Grooves have been

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cut, and the marks of tools are visible on the rock; but the current, instead of supplying a fountain, now passes over its native bed, and hastens down a course deep-worn, to join the Pleistus. Close by, at the foot of the eastern precipice, is a basin, with steps on the margin, once, it is likely, the bath used by the Pythia. Above, in the side of the mountain, is a petty church dedicated to St. John, within which are excavations resembling niches, partly concealed from view by a tree. The water is limpid, and exceedingly cold. Returning from the village in the evening, I began to wash my hands in it, but was instantly chilled, and seized with a tremor, which rendered me unable to stand or walk without support. On reaching the monastery, I was wrapped in a garment lined with warm fur, and, drinking freely of wine, fell into a most profuse perspiration. This incident, when Apollo was dreaded, might have been embellished with a superstitious interpretation. Perhaps the Pythia, who bathed in this icy fluid, mistook her shivering for the god.

CHAP. LXVIII.

Of Mount Parnassus—The Corycian cave—Wheler's journey on Mount Parnassus—Remarks—Some Albanians arrive at the monastery.

Parnassus was the western boundary of Phocis, and stretching northward from about Delphi toward the Œtæan mountains, separated the western Locri from those, who possessed the sea-coast before Eubœa. It was a place of refuge to the Delphians in times of danger. In the deluge, which

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happened under Deucalion, the natives were saved on it by following the cry of wolves. On the invasion by Xerxes, some transported their families over to Achaia, but many concealed them in the mountain and in Corycium, a grotto of the nymphs.

All Parnassus was renowned for sanctity, but Corycium was the most noted among the hallowed caves and places. "On the way to the summits of Parnassus, says Pausanias, as much as sixty stadia* beyond Delphi, is a brazen image; and from thence the ascent to Corycium is easier for a man on foot, and for mules and horses.—Of all the caves, in which I have been, this appeared to me the best worth seeing. On the coasts, and by the sea-side, are more than can be numbered; but some are very famous both in Greece and in other countries.—The Coryeian eave exceeds in magnitude those I have mentioned, and, for the most part, may be passed through without a light. It is sufficiently high; and has water, some springing up, and yet more from the roof, which petrifies; so that the bottom of the whole cave is covered with sparry icicles. The inhabitants of Parnassus esteem it sacred to the Corycian nymphs, and particularly to Pan. From the cave, to reach the summits of the mountain, is difficult, even to a man on foot. The summits are above the clouds, and the women, called Thyades, madden on them in the rites of Bacchus and Apollo." Their frantic orgies were performed yearly.

Wheler and his company ascended Parnassus from Delphi, some on horses, by a tract between the stadium and the clefts of the mountain. Stairs were cut in the rock, with a straight

* Seven miles and a half.

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channel, perhaps a water-duct. In a long hour, after many traverses, they gained the top, and entering a plain turned to the right, toward the summits of Castalia, which are divided by deep precipices. From this eminence they had a fine prospect of the gulf of Corinth and of the coast; Mount Cirphis appearing beneath them as a plain, bounded on the east by the bay of Asprospitia, and on the west by that of Salona. A few shepherds had huts there. They returned to the way, which they had quitted, and crossed a hill covered with pines and snow. On their left was a lake, and beyond it a peak, exceedingly high, white with snow. They travelled to the foot of it, through a valley four or five miles in compass; and rested by a plentiful fountain called Drosonigo, the stream boiling up, a foot in diameter, and nearly as much above the surface of the ground. It runs into the lake, which is about a quarter of a mile distant to the south-east. They did not discover Corycium, or proceed farther on, but, keeping the lake on their right, came again to the brink of the mountain, and descended by a steep and dangerous tract to Racovi, a village four or five miles eastward from Delphi.

It was the opinion of Wheler that no mountain in Greece was higher than Parnassus; that it was not inferior to Mount Cenis among the Alps; and that if detached, it would be seen at a greater distance than even Mount Athos. The summits are perpetually increasing, every new fall of snow adding to the perennial heap, while the sun has power only to thaw the superficies. Castalis, Pleistus, and innumerable springs are fed, some invisibly, from the lakes and reservoirs; which, without these drains and subterraneous vents, would swell, especially after heavy rain and the melting of snow, so as to fill the valleys and run over the tops of the rocks down

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upon Delphi, spreading wide an inundation, similar, as has been surmised, to the Deucalionéan deluge.

We purposed to ascend Parnassus, hoping to find the Corycian cave; but, before we had finished at Delphi, seventeen Albanians arrived at the monastery. These belonged to a guard, which patroled on the roads. They were robust dirty savages, wearing their hair in small plaits hanging down their shoulders. In the evening they roasted a sheep, and the captain invited us to partake, and, on our making some excuse, presented us with a portion of the meat. After eating in groups, they continued their wild singing and dancing to a late hour. They slept on the ground, each with his arms by him, and some much nearer to us than was agreeable. Sultan Morat, in 1447, forced many of their nation to change their religion, and converted the churches of Albania into mosques. This set were Mahometans, descended from Christian proselytes. They were represented to us as drunken and quarrelsome, given to detestable vices, and as dangerous as the banditti, against whom they were employed. We disliked their company, and dropped our intended excursion in quest of the cave; it appearing more prudent to depart suddenly for the port of Salona, in which, as a sailor informed us, our bark was then at anchor.

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CHAP. LXIX.

Of Cirrha—Of Amphissa—The port of Delphi—We leave Delphi—Embark.

DELPHI was distant sixty stadia, or seven miles and a half, from the sea at Cirrha. This city was the Crissa of Homer, from which the Crissæan bay had its name. The port was called Chalæon, and frequented by vessels from Sicily and Italy. The people were enriched by the customs, but, besides other impieties, they imposed heavy taxes on the votaries of Apollo, who arrived there, and encroached on his boundary. War was declared, and the oracle consulted by the deputies, when the Pythia replied, that the sea must wash the domain of Apollo before the city, which was besieged, could be taken. The Cirrhæan territory was immediately consecrated by the advice of Solon, one of their generals. The town was supplied by a duct with water from the Pleistus. He intercepted the current, and infusing roots of hellebore it produced a general flux. Cirrha was demolished, and dire execrations were pronounced against any person, or power, presuming to molest the god in the enjoyment of his new possessions.

The port of Cirrha was convenient for Amphissa, a principal city of the Locri Ozolæ, distant from Delphi one hundred and twenty stadia, or fifteen miles. The people seized it, recultivated the plain, and exacted from strangers even more than the Crissæans, but not with impunity. The *sacred war* followed, and Amphissa was destroyed.

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Cirrha continued to be the port of Delphi in the time of Pausanias. It had then a temple of Apollo. On the way to it was the Hippodrome, or course for the Pythian horse-races. This was in the plain, then naked. No one would plant, either fearing the curse, or knowing the soil to be unfit for trees.

We left the monastery early in the morning, and, going back to the mill, descended into the vale between the Cirphis and Parnassus. Here, as we travelled along, we had fresh occasion to regard with wonder the rough and romantic situation of Delphi; the rock rising prodigiously high with precipices, some perpendicular, between us and the village, and still towering up behind; the summits intruding into the blue sky. The small stream of the Pleistus, instead of pursuing its way to Cirrha and the sea, was absorbed among the olive-trees, vineyards, and plantations.

The rich vale ending, we crossed the Cirrhæan or Crissæan plain, which, as anciently, was bare. We saw the town of Salona on our right, at a distance, on a knoll or eminence. We passed over a root of Mount Cirphis, and came, after about three hours, in view of our bark, lying at anchor, with some small-craft. By the wáter-side was a magazine or two, and a mean custom-house, at which we waited for a boat, to convey us on board. The property of the soil is again changed, and Cirrha belongs, not to Delphi and Apollo, but to Amphissa or, as it is now called, Salona.

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CHAP. LXX.

At Gallixithium—At Thithavra—A plane-tree on the shore of the Morea. Site of Bostitza—Ægium—The mouth of the gulf—Lepanto—The Castles—Arrive at Patræ.

We set sail without delay, and, after clearing the bay of Salona, the wind blowing hard and contrary, got to Gallixithium, a mean town, of mud-built houses, with traces of ancient wall by the sea-side. It is supposed Œanthéa, a town of the Locri Ozolæ.

We were detained in port until the morning, when we tacked often, and the gale increasing, put in for shelter at Thithavra, where we found other small-craft. We had in view the Acro-corinthus, and the flat summit by Nemea.

Early in the morning we crossed over to the Morea, and anchored by some small-craft and a French vessel, which had sailed with us from Corinth. A plane-tree by the shore is remarkable for its vast size and height. It is sound and flourishing, with huge limbs, affording a most capacious and thick shade. A company of armed Albanians, like that at Delphi, was sleeping beneath it, and prevented us from measuring the trunk. We were told that an earthquake, and a mighty inundation of the sea happened not many years ago; that the writer thrice mounted above this tree, and the tall cliff behind it; that some of the branches were torn off by its violence; and that the people fled to the mountains.

Above the sea is a town called Bostitza, which stands on, or near the site of Ægium; for by the plane-tree is a plentiful

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source of excellent water, streaming copiously from ten or more mouths of stone; and many transparent springs rise on the beach. Ægium is described as retired from the shore, which afforded plenty of water agreeable to drink from the fountain, and pleasing to the eye.

Ægium was a city of no mean note, in the region called Ægialos, and afterwards Achaia. It had a theatre and temples, some near the sea. One was of Jupiter, styled Homagyrius, because Agamemnon assembled there the principal chieftains of Greece, before the expedition to Troy. It was for many ages the seat of the Achæan congress. The Turks burned Ægium in 1536, and put the inhabitants to the sword, or carried them away into slavery.

It continued to blow until it was dark, when a calm ensued. We proceeded, before the dawn of day, about two miles toward the mouth of the gulf, which is formed by the promontories, once called Rhium and Antirhium. The wind setting in again, met us, and we tarried near a point of land, named anciently Drepanum, because the curve between it and Rhium resembled a sickle. We sailed in the evening, and tacked from shore to shore, but made little way all night.

At day-break we had a distinct view of Lepanto, a city often attacked, taken, and recovered, in the wars of the Turks and Venetians. It is seated on the acclivity of a steep hill, and has been likened to the Papal crown, the lateral walls being crossed by four other ranges, and ascending to a point or summit, on which is a castle terminating the fortification. The wall next to the sea is indented with an oval harbour, of which the entrance is narrow, and capable of admitting only barks and small galleys. The valley on each side of the town was dusky with trees. The gulf is named

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from it; but by the Greeks the place is called Epactos, as anciently Naupactos. It belonged to the Locri Ozolæ; whose sea-coast, beginning from Cirrha and Phocis, extended a little more than two hundred stadia, or twenty-five miles.

Passing Lepanto, we came between the promontories Rhium and Antirhium, distant from each other seven stadia, or less than a mile. The strait, which divides them, was five stadia wide. The Christians often invading the Ottoman dominions on this side, Bajazet in 1482 erected castles at the mouth of the gulf. One is called the castle of Romelia, the other of the Morea. Both were taken by the Venetian admiral in 1536. The Turkish governors in 1687 blowed up their walls, which were afterwards restored. We sailed close by the latter, a mean fortress, on a low point of land, much out of repair, with the lion of St. Mark over the gate-ways.

We doubled cape Rhium, and before noon anchored in the road of Patræ. Between this place and Lepanto, the Christians, in 1571, obtained a victory from the Turks, in one of the most considerable battles, which ever happened at sea. The gulf of Corinth was reckoned eighty-five miles long.

CHAP. LXXI.

Of Patræ—The city—Feast of Diana—The present town—The south side of the gulf of Corinth—Neglect of travellers.

PATRÆ assisted the Ætolians, when invaded by the Gauls under Brennus; but afterwards was unfortunate, re-

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duced to extreme poverty, and almost abandoned. Augustus Cæsar reunited the scattered citizens, and made it a Roman colony, settling a portion of the troops, which obtained the victory of Actium, with other inhabitants, from the adjacent places. Patræ reflourished, and enjoyed dominion over Naupactus, Œanthéa, and several cities of Achaia.

In the time of Pausanias, Patræ was adorned with temples and porticoes, a theatre, and an odéum, which was superior to any in Greece, but that of Atticus Herodes at Athens. In the lower part of the city was a temple of Bacchus Æsymnetes, in which was an image preserved in a chest, and conveyed, it was said, from Troy by Eurypylus; who, on opening it, became disordered in his senses. By the port were temples; and by the sea, one of Ceres, with a pleasant grove and a prophetic fountain of unerring veracity, in determining the event of any illness. After supplicating the goddess, with incense, the sick person appeared, dead or living, in a mirror, suspended so as to touch the surface of the water.

In the citadel of Patræ was a temple of Diana Laphria, with her statue in the habit of a huntress, of ivory and gold, given by Augustus Cæsar, when he laid waste Calydon and the cities of Ætolia, to people Nicopolis. The Patrensians honoured her with a yearly festival, which is described by Pausanias, who was a spectator. They formed a circle round the altar with pieces of green wood, each sixteen cubits long; and within heaped dry fuel. The solemnity began with a most magnificent procession, which was closed by the Virgin-priestess, in a chariot drawn by stags. On the following day, the city and private persons offered at the altar; fruits, and birds, and all kinds of victims, wild boars, stags, deer, young

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wolves, and beasts full grown; after which the fire was kindled. He relates, that a bear and another animal forced a way through the fence, but were re-conducted to the pile. It was not remembered that any wound had ever been received at this ceremony, though the spectacle and sacrifice were as dangerous as savage. The number of women at Patræ was double that of the men. They were employed chiefly in a manufacture of flax, which grew in Elis, weaving garments and attire for the head.

Patræ has been often attacked by enemies, taken, and pillaged. It is a considerable town, at a distance from the sea, situated on the side of a hill, which has its summit crowned with a ruinous castle. This made a brave defence in 1447 against sultan Morat, and held out until the peace was concluded, which first rendered the Morea tributary to the Turks. A dry flat before it was once the port, which has been choked with mud. It has now, as in the time of Strabo, only an indifferent road for vessels. The house of Nicholas Paul, Esquire, the English consul, stood on part of the wall, either of the theatre or the odéum. By a fountain was a fragment of a Latin inscription. We saw also a large marble bust, much defaced; and the French consul shewed us a collection of medals. We found nothing remarkable in the citadel. It is a place of some trade, and is inhabited by Jews, as well as by Turks and Greeks. The latter have several churches. One is dedicated to St. Andrew, the apostle, who suffered martyrdom there, and is of great sanctity. It had been recently repaired. The site, by the sea, is supposed that of the temple of Ceres. By it is a fountain. The air is bad, and the country round about overrun with the low shrub called glycyrrhiza, or licorice.

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Sicyon, with several cities of Achaia, stood on the south side of the gulf of Corinth. Wheler visited the former, now called Basilico. Pococke mentions a ruin on a high hill, about six miles nearer to Patræ, and supposes it Ægira. About seven miles beyond, he saw a piece of thick wall on the sea-shore, where perhaps was Helice. At Vostitza was a ruin of a small ancient building, at the west end of the town; and, in the front of an old church, a fine relief, of a lion seizing a horse. A river, the Selinus, falls into the sea to the east of the town, and has over it a large bridge. In a beautiful little plain, a league to the south, is another river, either the Phœnix or Meganitas. From Corinth to the castle of the Morea is reckoned a journey of twenty-two hours.

The places between Sicyon and Patræ, their order, their situation, their distances from the sea and from each other, are so exactly marked by Strabo and Pausanias, as not easily to be mistaken.* It is matter of regret, that travel-

* From Patræ to the promontory Rhium, the distance was fifty stadia. Then to port Panormus, fifteen. To the wall of Minerva, fifteen. To port Erineus, now, it is supposed, Lambirio, ninety. To Ægium, sixty. In the whole, two hundred and thirty stadia, or twenty-eight miles and three-quarters. Strabo reckons Rhium and Antirhium forty stadia from Patræ. This city was forty stadia nearer to Ægium by land than by sea. After some rivers was cape Drepanum. A little above the road were remains of Rypes, about thirty stadia from Ægium. Forty stadia beyond Ægium was Helice. From this city the worship of Jupiter Heliconius was transferred to Ionia. The inundation attending the earthquake, which destroyed it, was so great, that only the tops of the trees in the grove of Neptune were visible. The town, though twelve stadia, or a mile and a half from the shore, was absorbed. Remnants of the buildings were discernible under the water in the time of Pausanias. Beyond Helice, on the right of the road, was Cerunéa on a mountain. Proceeding, not a great way, you turned aside to Bura, likewise on a mountain, forty stadia from the sea. The more ancient city had been absorbed with Helice. On the way from Bura, toward the shore, was a river called Buraicus, and a small Hercules in a cave,

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lers too commonly hasten along in the beaten road, uninformed of the objects on the way; when, by consulting and following those invaluable guides, they might increase their own pleasure, and at the same time greatly advance the general knowledge of ancient geography.

CHAP. LXXII.

We leave Patræ—On the coast of Ætolia—Flats—The river Achelous—The islands called Echinades—The fishery—A monoxylo or skiff—Towns—Cause of the bad air in the gulf—Encroachments of the river.

We enquired at Patræ for ruins of the ancient cities of the Peloponnesus, but unsuccessfully. The vestiges of the former inhabitants overspread the country, but have not awakened curiosity or reflection in the present race. Finding we could obtain no intelligence, we resolved to proceed in our bark to Chiarenza, or, as it was once called, Cyllene. This place was the port of Elis, and lay in our course to Zante, whither, if we tarried in the Morea, we purposed to send our baggage, retaining only necessaries for the journey. On the second evening after our arrival at Patræ, we bade adieu to the worthy consul, by whom we had been politely entertained, and descended to the sea, at a late hour, accompanied by his son; our servants lighting us with long paper lanthorns.

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which was distant, on the direct road, thirty stadia from Helice, and seventy-two from the port of Ægira, crossing the river Crathis, by which Ægæ once stood. Ægira was twelve stadia above its port, which was a hundred and twenty from that of Pellene. This was a strong fortress, sixty stadia above the sea, and the place next Sicyon.

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We passed over to the level coast opposite to Patræ, anciently called Ætolia, now Romelia. In the afternoon I went ashore in the boat with the captain, and the men gathered tall strong bull-rushes to tie the sails. Some peasants were dividing the carcase of a cow, which they had killed among the thickets at a distance, and wanted to sell part of it; but, seeing me in the long dress with a white towel round my head, the messenger mistook me for a Turk and ran away. He was prevailed on to return, and we went with him.

The water was weedy, and so shallow, that our bark anchored afar off from the shore. In the evening the air stunk abominably; and frogs croaked in chorus without ceasing. We anchored again, the following afternoon, near a very large tract of low land, overspread by the sea, and encompassed with reed-fences. These flats have been formed chiefly by the mud of the river Achelous, which was described to us as of great size, and as flooding the country in winter.

The Achelous is styled by Homer the prince of rivers. The stream descended from the north and Mount Pindus into the plain of Acarnania, and, dividing that country from Ætolia, entered the sea by the city Œniadæ, creating continually new land. Alcmæon settled near it, when directed by the Delphic oracle to fly from the Fury, which haunted him as the murderer of his mother, to some spot manifested by the sea after his pollution. The two nations, their boundaries shifting, engaged in many bloody conflicts for the region about the mouth, called the Parachelöitis.

Before the Achelous lay the islets named Echinades, many in number, barren and rugged. Several of these had been added very early to the continent, and, in the opinion of an ancient historian, it was easy to foretel the fate of the re-

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mainder. In the time of Strabo, the water stagnated in a large lake about Œniadæ, and, he observes, some of the Ætolian promontories had been islands. Augustus Cæsar removing the inhabitants into Nicopolis, the city which he founded near Actium, the country was unsown, and the quantity of slime decreased. This is assigned by Pausanias as the reason, why the junction of the Echinades, with the main land, had not been completed. Depopulation has also since retarded its progress.

The Achelous was among the rivers most noted for shoals of fish, which entered from the sea, especially in spring. It was particularly frequented by mullet, which delight in foul and muddy water. The multitudes now taken yearly at that season on the shallows surpass belief. The rows are made into Bottarga and Caviaro; a species of food, which the ancients esteemed as a delicacy. The small sheds, erected each on a single post, extended as far as we could see, and appeared innumerable. They are designed for watchmen, who observe the finny squadrons, and, by closing the avenues of the fences, secure them in prison.

On a knoll within the inclosures was a small thatched hut, which we endeavoured to reach in our boat, but we grounded at the distance of half a mile. A man waded to it, and procured for us a monoxylo, or tray, the trunk of a tree made hollow. This is the common vehicle over the flats, capable of containing a very few persons; long, narrow, and unsteady; but respectable for its antiquity, being on record among the vessels in primitive use; suiting the shallows, on which navigation received its first rudiments. A boy, who espied us, fled in extreme consternation, punting with all his might toward the hut, jumping into the water, and pushing his skiff

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before him, when impeded by the weeds, which spring up from the bottom. We purchased some dried fish, and returned in the monoxylo to our boat.

We could see many vessels lying at a distance off Messalongia and Nathaligo, two towns inhabited chiefly by Greeks, on little islands amid the flats. The monoxyla or skiffs carry every thing to and from the shore, and in calm weather are employed in lading them, principally with fish, spreading over the shining surface of the water, innumerable.

The wind in autumn commonly sets toward the Morea, and into the gulf of Corinth, before which the Echinades with Cephallenia lie. It becomes impregnated with salts from putrefying weeds in its passage over these extensive flats; wafting noisome vapours and disease. In the creeks, where we stopped, we had seen sick persons, removed for ease and quiet from the vessels, lying on the rocks. The complaints, which prevailed among us, may be imputed partly to fatigue. Our servants had been all ill at different times; and one, with a sailor, who attended us at Delphi, was now unable to stand on the deck.

The changes effected by the Achelous deserve to be attentively examined. The low land on the south side of the Corinthian gulf, and on the western coast of the Morea, is perhaps its offspring; and Lechæum, as well as the port of Patræ, may have been choked by the river. The traveller, who shall trace the past encroachments, will be enabled to prognosticate with certainty many future alterations. Perhaps, in some distant age, the growing soil may unite with the opposite shore of the Morea, and the entrance of the Corinthian gulf be closed up; when that water will be

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seen removed from the sea in the same manner by the Achelous, as the bay of Myûs has been by the Mæander.

CHAP. LXXIII.

We sail—In the bay of Chiarenza—Cyllene—At Gastouni—At Elis—Its territory sacred—The city—Vestiges.

We sailed at night with a strong wind and a high sea, which beating on the side of the vessel rolled us along toward Chiarenza. We passed cape Papa, called anciently Araxus, a promontory, which belonged to Elis, and was one thousand stadia, or a hundred and twenty-five miles from the isthmus. Dyme, a city without a port, the last of Achaia to the west, was sixty stadia, or seven miles and a half from the cape. Olenus, a deserted city, was forty stadia, or five miles from Dyme, and eighty stadia from Patræ.

We anchored soon after day-break in the bay of Chiarenza, which is frequented by small-craft from Zante and the places adjacent, chiefly for passengers and provisions. On the beach was a low cart, the only one we had seen since we left Sigeum, the form and wheels antique, drawn by two horses abreast. The buildings are a custom-house and a few sheds, or magazines.

Cyllene stood on a rough tongue of land on the south side of the bay, a hundred and twenty stadia, or fifteen miles from Elis. It was a middling village, and possessed two or three temples. In one was an ivory statue of Æsculapius, wonderful to behold. The site under the Venetians was oc-

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cupied by Chiarenza, a flourishing town. Sultan Morat in 1447 laid waste the Morea as far as this place, and carried off sixty thousand people. Some masses of wall and other vestiges remain. The port is choked up. Cyllene, which gave its name to Mercury, was a very high mountain in Arcadia, celebrated for his temple. Zante is opposite to the region of Elis.

We were informed here of a place called Palæopolis, which we agreed to visit, hoping to find ruins of the city of Elis. Horses, and men to attend them on foot, with an agoiatis, or guide, to Gastouni, were procured without difficulty. We dined at a Greek monastery, half an hour from the shore, and then proceeded through a plain. On our right hand was a town named Clemontzi or Clemouzzi, beyond which, on a hill distinctly visible from Zante, and about six miles from the shore, is a fortress commonly called *Castle-Tornese*. The Venetians under Morosini, appeared before it in 1687, after their victory at Patræ, and it surrendered. A barrow occurred on our left, and afterwards two near each other. We then crossed the river Peneus, a shallow stream in a wide and deep bed. In about three hours we arrived at Gastouni, which is a large town.

Our captain conducted us to the house of a Zantiote, who admitted us into his garden, in which we passed the night. We were detained, waiting for horses, until the following evening, when in four hours we reached Callivia, a small village near Palæopolis. By the way was a barrow. We saw large tracts of land overrun with tall thistles and the licorice-shrub; cotton-grounds and vineyards interspersed. The garden of a peasant was our lodging.

The city of Elis owed its origin to an union of small towns,

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after the Persian war. It was not encompassed immediately with a wall; for it had the care of the temple at Olympia, and its territory was solemnly consecrated to Jupiter. To invade or not protect it was deemed impiety; and armies, if marching through, delivered up their weapons, which, on their quitting it, were restored. Amid warring states the city enjoyed repose, was resorted to by strangers, and flourished. The region round about it was called Cœle, or *Hollow*, from the inequalities. The country was reckoned fertile, and particularly fit for the raising of flax. This, which grew no where else in Greece, equalled the produce of Judæa in fineness, but was not so yellow.

Elis was a school, as it were, for Olympia. The athletic exercises were proformed there, before the more solemn trial in a gymnasium, by which the Peneus ran. The Hellanodics or præfects of the games, paired the rival combatants by lot, in an area called Plethrium, or *The Acre*. Within the wall grew lofty plane-trees; and, in the court, which was called the Xystus, were separate courses marked for the foot-races. A smaller court was called the quadrangle. The præfects, when chosen, resided for ten months in a building erected for their use, to be instructed in the duties of their office. They attended before sun-rise, to preside at the races; and again at noon, the time appointed for the Pentathlum, or *Five Sports*. The horses were trained in the agora, or market-place, which was called the Hippodrome. In the gymnasium were altars, and a cenotaph of Achilles. The women, besides other rites, beat their bosoms in honour of this hero, on a fixed day, toward sun-set. There also was the town-hall, in which extemporary harangues were spoken, and compositions recited. It was hung round with bucklers for orna-

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ments. A way led from it to the baths through the *Street of Silence;* and another to the market-place, which was planned with streets between porticoes of the doric order, adorned with altars and images. Among the temples one had a circular peristyle or colonnade, but the images had been removed, and the roof was fallen, in the time of Pausanias. The theatre was ancient, and was also a temple of Bacchus, one of the deities, principally adored at Elis. Minerva had a temple in the citadel, with an image of ivory and gold, made, it was said, by Phidias. At the gate leading to Olympia was the monument of a person, who was buried, as an oracle had commanded, neither within nor without the city.

The structures of Elis seem to have been raised with materials, far less elegant and durable than the produce of the Ionian and Attic quarries. The ruins are of brick, and not considerable, consisting of pieces of ordinary wall, and an octagon building with niches, which, it is supposed, was the temple with a circular perystile. These stand detached from each other, ranging in a vale southward from the wide bed of the river Peneus, which by the margin had several large stones, perhaps reliques of the gymnasium. The citadel was on a hill, which has on the top some remnants of wall. Olympia was distant about three hundred stadia, or thirty-seven miles and a half.

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CHAP. LXXIV.

Set out from Olympia—Arrangement of the coast—At a monastery—The night—A tree frog—At Pyrgo—Pitch our tent by a ruin—Gnats.

We had been visited in the garden at Gastouni by a Turkish aga, called Muláh, or *The Virtuoso* Solyman, a person of some knowledge, uncommonly polite, and of a graceful deportment. He informed us, that he had seen ruins by Miraca, near the Rophia, a very large river. The site and distance agreeing with Olympia, it was hoped that spot would prove more important than Palæopolis. We left Callivia in the evening, and, passing by some barrows, which probably were not far from the gate next Olympia, and afterwards by one in the plain, travelled with Gastouni behind us toward the sea.

The arrangement of the coast to the south of Cyllene was as follows. After the mouth of the Peneus was Chelonatas, the most westerly promontory of the Peloponnesus, distant two miles from Cyllene; near which was a mountainous point, called Hormina, or Hyrmina. Next was point Pheia, with an inconsiderable river of the same name near it; and before it an islet; and a port, distant one hundred and twenty stadia, or fifteen miles from Olympia, going the nearest way from the sea. A cape succeeded, called Icthys, extending far out westward. This was one hundred and twenty stadia from the island Cephallenia, which was eighty stadia, or ten miles from Cyllene. After Icthys was the mouth of the river

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Alpheus, distant two hundred and eighty stadia, or thirty miles from Chelonatas, with a temple near it, and a grove of Diana, eighty stadia, or ten miles from Olympia. The whole region abounded in places sacred to Venus and to Diana; and, being well watered, in caves of the nymphs. By the roads were frequent statues of Mercury; and, on the capes, of Neptune. The islands called Strophades were thirty-five miles from Zante.

We came to the sea-side below Chelonatas, and travelled southward to a monastery of the Panagia Scaphidia, or *Virgin of the Skiffs*, situated on an eminence not far from point Pheia on the north; the beach so insecure, that it is customary to load the boats on shore, and then push them into the water. Near it is a lake fed by a small stream, probably the stagnant water mentioned by Pausanias, measuring about three stadia, on the road from Olympia to Elis by the plain. The supper-bell rung as we approached. We rode into the court, and saw the priests and monks seated at their respective tables, or in companies on the ground. We dismounted, wondering that nobody stirred, or took any notice of us. We were informed afterwards, that they had mistaken us for Frenchmen, and that their usual courtesy had been withheld, from national prejudices. The society was in a flourishing state, and had partly completed their design of rebuilding the monastery.

We were conducted to a good apartment, in which we supped. Afterwards some preferred sleeping in the court, hoping to find the air cooler, and to be less molested by vermin; but innumerable gnats, which arise from the lake, disturbed us with their continual buzzing, and preyed on us exceedingly. The poultry, which roosted close by in a mul-

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berry-tree, at dawn of day fluttered down from the branches in long succession; and at our next stage we discovered that myriads of large fleas had taken possession of the folds of our garments.

In the morning we made our early repast, as usual, on fruit, bread and coffee. We were ready to depart, when one of my companions found a tree-frog in the garden. The back so exactly resembled in colour the green leaf of a lemon tree, on which it was sitting, that the reptile was not easily to be distinguished, except by its lively eyes. It was small, and in shape like a toad; the belly of an ugly pale, speckled, the hinder legs long. The toes, which are clammy, enable it to raise or let down its body, as it occasionally does, sometimes hanging by one foot, and to travel without danger over the bending foliage. It was unwieldy and inactive. On our shaking the bough to put it in motion, it fell to the ground, tired perhaps with a former exertion; and lay as dead. Its chirping or silence are said to be among the prognostics of changes in the weather. The Greeks call it Spordaca. The species is mentioned by Pliny.

In two hours we came to a village named Pyrgo, from a house in it with a tower. Upon a mount, on the right hand, was a castle called Katacoli, near which vessels of burthen are laden; at the port, it is likely, mentioned as fifteen miles from Olympia. The whole plain from Elis affords but scanty shade. Sheds, covered with boughs, are the shelter of the cattle at noon. The peasants were busy at their harvest work. The wheat-sheaves were collected about the floors; and horses, running abreast round a stake, were treading out the grain. The habitations were very mean, chiefly low mud-built huts, many of an oval form, with a fence before

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them. We tarried at Pyrgo in a garden, while our men procured bread and other necessaries, it being expected that our next *Conac*, or resting place, would be destitute of every thing.

When the heat of noon was over, we crossed a hilly country, and had frequent views of the Rophia or Alpheus, at a distance. This portion of the road to Olympia was called *The Mountainous*, to distinguish it from that nearer Elis, which was in the plain. The track by the bank of the river was deep-worn in a ridge of the mountain. From it we turned to the left up a valley, which there becomes more contracted; and in about four hours were near a ruin. The sun was set, and we pitched our tent in a field, which had been sown with corn.

Here gnats swarmed around us innumerable, infesting us, if possible, more terribly than ever before. We endeavoured to sleep, in vain. Our Greeks too called on their Panagia, but were not relieved. It is related, Jupiter, on a like petition from Hercules, whom they molested while sacrificing at Olympia, drove them all beyond the river; from which exploit he acquired the title of Apomuius, or the *Fly-expeller:* and the Eleans, at the season of the games, invoked him, sacrificing a bull; when, it is said, the gnats all perished; or, which is recorded as extraordinary, no insect being less docile and intelligent, retired in clouds out of the Olympic territory.

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CHAP. LXXV.

Of Pisa—Of Olympia—Of the temple of Jupiter—The statue—The great altar—Other altars—Riches of Olympia—Solemnity of the games—Herodes a benefactor—Ruin of Olympia.

Olympia was in a region named Pisatis, from a city, which had been subdued by the Eleans. The site of Pisa was on an eminence between two mountains called Ossa and Olympus; but in the time of Pausanias no wall or building remained, and it was planted with vines. This place had been rendered excessively illustrious by the power and reputation of its ancient princes, among whom were Œnomaus and Pelops; by the oracle and temple of the Olympian Jupiter; by the celebrity of the grand panegyris, or general assembly, held at it; and by the renown of the agon or games, in which, to be victorious, was deemed the very summit of human felicity.

The glory of Olympia was not diminished by the ruin of Pisa. The altis, or sacred grove, was surrounded with a wall. Within was the temple of Jupiter; and also a temple of Juno, sixty-three feet long, with columns round it of the Doric order; and a metroum, or temple, of the mother of the gods, a large Doric edifice; with holy treasuries, as at Delphi. These, and the porticoes, a gymnasium, prytanèum, and many more buildings, chiefly in the inclosure, with the houses of the priests and other inhabitants, made Olympia no inconsiderable place. The stadium was in the grove of wild olive-trees,

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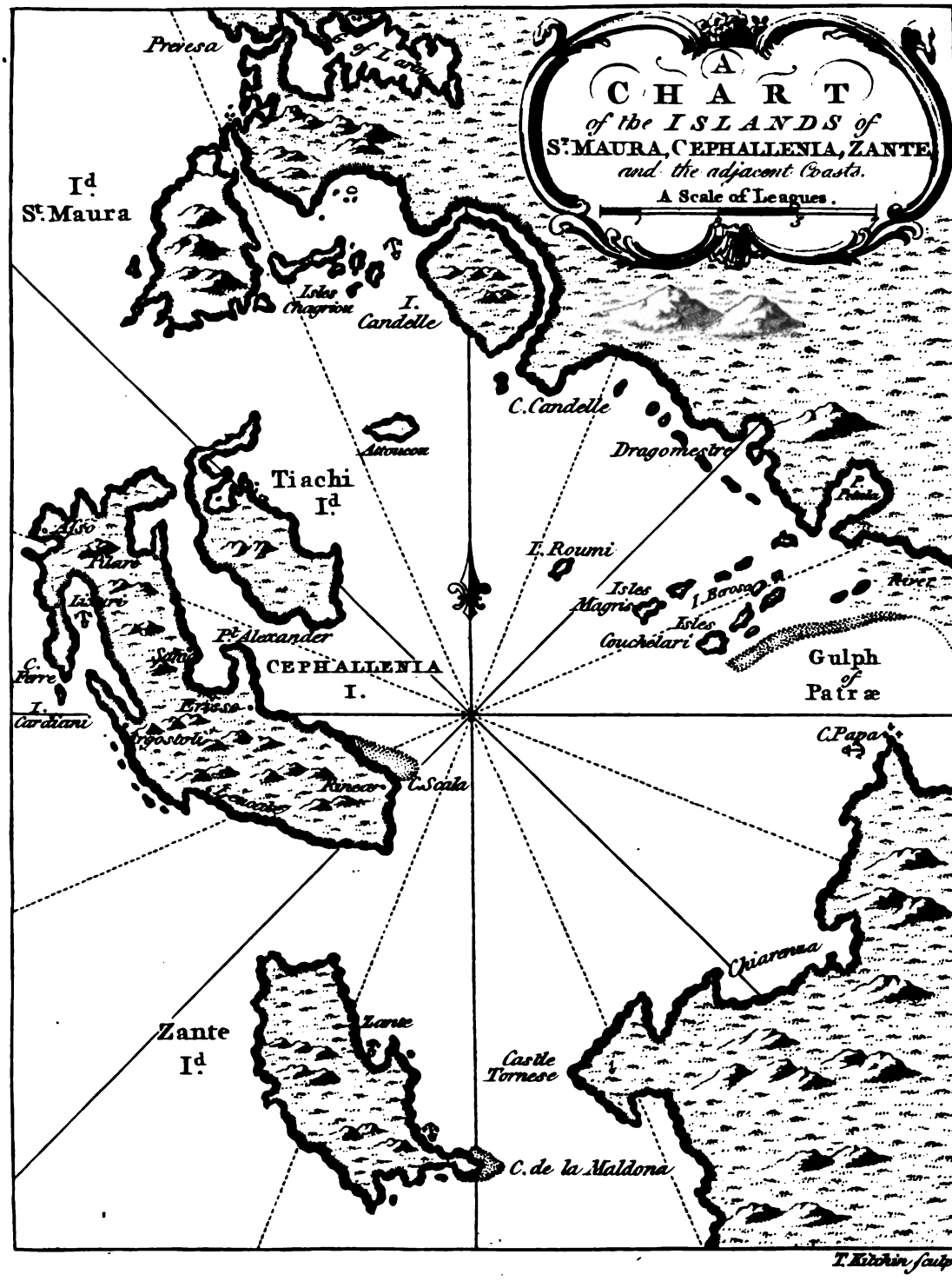
A
CHART
of the ISLANDS of
St. MAURA, CEPHALLENIA, ZANTE,
and the adjacent Coasts.
A Scale of Leagues.
Prevesa
Id
St. Maura
Isles Chagrion
I. Candelle
C. Candelle
Dragomestro
Tiachi
Id
I. Roumi
Isles Magris
Isles Couchelari
Gulph of Patræ
Pt. Alexander
CEPHALLENIA
I.
C. Ferre
I. Cardiani
C. Scala
C. Papa
Chiarenza
Zante
Id
Castle Tornese
C. de la Maldona
T. Kitchin sculp.

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before the great temple; and near it was the hippodrome, or course for the races of horses and chariots. The Alpheus flowed by from Arcadia with a copious and very pleasant stream, which was received on the coast by the Sicilian Sea.

The temple of Jupiter was of the Doric order, sixty-eight feet high to the pediment, ninety-five wide, and two hundred and thirty long; the cell encompassed with columns. It was erected with the country-stone; the roof, not of earth baked, but of Pentelic marble, the slabs disposed as tiles; the way to it up a winding staircase. The two pediments were enriched with sculpture, and one had over the centre a statue of Victory gilded; and underneath, a votive buckler of gold. At each corner was a gilded vase. Above the columns were fixed twenty-one gilded bucklers, offered at the conclusion of the Achæan war by the Roman general Mummius. The gates in the two fronts were of brass, and over them were carved the labours of Hercules. Within the cell, as in the Parthenon at Athens, were doubled colonnades, between which was the approach to the image.

The Jupiter of Olympia was accounted alone sufficient to immortalize its maker Phidias. It was of ivory and gold, the head crowned with olive. In the right hand was a statue of Victory; in the left, a flowered sceptre, composed of various metals, on which was an eagle. The sandals were of gold, as also the vestment, which was curiously embossed with lilies and animals. The throne was gold, inlaid with ebony and ivory, and studded with jewels, intermixed with paintings, and exquisite figures in relievo. The pillars between the feet contributed to its support. Before it were walls, serving as a fence, decorated principally with the exploits of Hercules;

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the portion opposite to the door of a blue colour. It was the office of a family descended from Phidias, called phædruntæ, or *the polishers*, to keep the work bright and clean. The veil or curtain was cloth rich with the purple die of Phœnicia, and with Assyrian embroidery, an offering of king Antiochus; and was not drawn up as in the temple of Diana at Ephesus, but was let down from above by loosing the strings. The image impressed on the spectator an opinion that it was higher and wider than it measured. Its magnitude was such, that though the temple was very large, the artist seemed to have erred in the proportions. The god, sitting, nearly touched the ceiling with his head; suggesting an idea, that if he were to rise up, he would destroy the roof. A part of the pavement before it was of black marble, inclosed in a rim of Parian or white, where they poured oil to preserve the ivory. Pausanias has remarked, that the dry air and lofty situation of the citadel at Athens, rendered water more proper for the Minerva in the Parthenon. He enquired why neither oil nor water was used at Epidaurus, and was informed that the image and throne of Æsculapius stood over a well.

The altar of Jupiter Olympius was of great antiquity, and composed of ashes from the thighs of the victims, which were carried up and consumed on the top with wood of the white poplar tree. The ashes also of the Prytanèum, in which a perpetual fire was kept on a hearth, were removed annually on a fixed day, and spread on it, being first mingled with water from the Alpheus. The cement, it was affirmed, could be made with that fluid only, and therefore this river was much respected, and esteemed the most friendly of any to the god. On each side of the altar were stone steps. Its height was twenty-two feet. Girls and women, when

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allowed to be at Olympia, were suffered to ascend the basement, which was a hundred and twenty-five feet in circumference. The people of Elis sacrificed daily, and private persons as often as they chose.

Religion flourished at Olympia, and many deities were worshipped besides Jupiter. Pausanias has enumerated above sixty altars of various shapes and kinds. One, of the *unknown gods*, stood by the great altar. The people of Elis offered on all these, monthly; laying on them boughs of olive; burning incense, and wheat mixed with honey; and pouring libations of such liquors as the ritual prescribed. At the latter ceremony sometimes a form of prayer was used, and they sung hymns composed in the Doric dialect.

Olympia preserved much longer than Delphi, and with less diminution, the sacred property, of which it was a similar repository. Some images were removed by Tiberius Nero. His successor, Caius Caligula, who honoured Jupiter with the familiar appellation of brother, commanded that his image should be transported to Rome, but the architects declared it was impossible without destroying the work; and his commissioner, Memmius Regulus, terrified by prodigies, ventured to apologize for a disobedience, which endangered his life. The god in the time of Pausanias retained his original splendour. The votive offerings of crowns, and chariots, and of charioteers, and horses, and oxen, in brass, the precious images of gold, ivory or amber, and the curiosities consecrated in the temples, the treasuries, and other edifices, could not be viewed without astonishment. The number of statues within the altis or grove was itself an amazing spectacle. Many were the works of Myron, Lysippus, and the prime artists of Greece. Their kings and emperors were assembled;

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and Jupiter towered in brass, of colossal proportions, from twelve to near thirty feet high. The class of men and boys, conquerors in the games in brass, which was the largest, continually increased. The statue of a Roman senator, who had been victorious, was erecting, when the collection was viewed by Pausanias. Let the reader peruse the detail given by that traveller, and imagine, if he can, the entertainment, which Olympia must then have afforded to the connoisseur, to the historian, and the antiquary.

Pausanias declares, that a person might see many things wonderful to tell of, among the Greeks; but that the Olympic agon, or games, with the Eleusinian Mysteries, partook in an especial manner of the deity. The former grand exhibition was conducted with prodigious solemnity. The order of the exercises and the ceremonial were controlled by the præfects, who were commonly ten or twelve in number, elected one from each tribe of the Eleans. These, and the competitors, were required to qualify by taking an oath, with dire imprecations, in the presence of Jupiter Horcius. The terrible image stood in the council-chamber, bearing in either hand avenging thunder; and a boar was the victim. The spectators assembled in the stadium, which was of earth, like that of Epidaurus, and had seats for the præfects, who entered with the candidates by a private way. Opposite to them was an altar of white marble, on which the priestess of Ceres sate; and before them on a table were laid crowns of oleaster or wild olive, made from a tree growing near the back front of the temple of Jupiter.

From the silence of Homer it has been argued, that the four great spectacles of games in Greece either did not exist, when he wrote, or were in no repute. That of Olympia,

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however, deduced its origin from remote antiquity, and continued to a late period, undergoing several alterations. Among its kindest benefactors is reckoned Herodes, who was afterwards king of Judea. Seeing, on his way to Rome, this relique of old Greece, subsisting in a manner unworthy of its former renown, and dwindling from poverty, he displayed vast munificence as president, and provided an ample revenue for its future support and dignity; extending, it is said, his liberality through the Eleans to the whole world, which was interested in the prosperity of Olympia.

The computation of time by Olympiads, which began about four hundred years after the destruction of Troy, was used until the reign of Theodosius the Great; when a new mode of reckoning, by indictions or from the victory of Augustus Cæsar at Actium, was introduced; the Olympic games, with general assembly, were abolished; and the image made by Phidias was removed to Constantinople. Jupiter and Pelops were banished from the seat, which they had possessed for ages. Olympia has since been forgotten in its vicinity, but the name will be ever respected, as venerable for its precious era, by the chronologer and historian.

CHAP. LXXVI.

Vestiges of Olympia—Miráca—The river Alpheus.

Early in the morning we crossed a shallow brook, and commenced our survey of the spot before us with a degree of expectation, from which our disappointment on finding it almost naked received a considerable addition. The

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ruin, which we had seen in the evening, we found to be the walls of the cell of a very large temple, standing many feet high and well-built, the stones all injured, and manifesting the labour of persons, who have endeavoured by boring to get at the metal, with which they were cemented. From a massive capital remaining it was collected that the edifice had been of the Doric order. At a distance before it was a deep hollow, with stagnant water and brick-work, where it is imagined was the stadium. Round about are scattered remnants of brick buildings, and vestiges of stone walls. The site is by the road-side, in a green valley, between two ranges of even summits pleasantly wooded. The mountain once called Cronium is on the north, and on the south the river Alpheus.

As Miràca was not far off, we resolved to inquire there for other ruins. It was a small village on a hill, perhaps that of Pisa. Sheaves of wheat were collected about an area or two, and a few men with women and children were employed in harvest-work. Our approach occasioned some alarm, and they appeared shy, until we informed them of our business. We descended again into the valley, and travelled up it for two hours. We then returned, and our men with difficulty procured some fowls, on which we dined by the shallow brook.

The Alpheus had now a majestic stream, which in winter is greatly increased by torrents rushing from the mountains. The wide bed on each side was dry. It is accounted the largest river in the country, and affords plenty of fish. We saw a weir of stakes made across it, on which a man was watching, sitting under a shed roofed with boughs, over the middle of the current.

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CHAP. LXXVII.

Journey of Mr. Bocher—Ruin of a temple—Near Phigalia.

Mr Joachim Bocher, architect, a native of Paris, visited us in the Lazaretto at Zante, which island he had adorned with several elegant villas. This gentleman in November, 1765, from Pyrgo crossed the Alpheus, and passing by Agolinizza traversed a wood of pines to Esidore, where is a Turkish khan. An hour beyond, leaving the plain by the sea, he began to ascend the mountains, and passing by some villages arrived at Vervizza at night. This was a long journey. His design was to examine an ancient building near Caritena. He was still remote from that place, when he perceived a ruin, two hours from Vervizza, which prevented his going any farther.

The ruin, called *The Columns*, stands on an eminence sheltered by lofty mountains. The temple, it is supposed, was that of Apollo Epicurius, near Phigalia, a city of Arcadia. It was of the Doric order, and had six columns in front. The number, which ranged round the cell, was thirty-eight. Two at the angles are fallen; the rest are entire, in good preservation, and support their architraves. Within them lies a confused heap. The stone inclines to grey with reddish veins. To its beauty is added great precision of execution in the workmanship. These remains had their effect, striking equally the mind and the eyes of the beholder.

Pausanias describes Phigalia as surrounded by mountains,

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of which one, named Cotylium, was distant about forty stadia, or five miles. The temple of Apollo stood on this, at a place called Bassæ. It was planned by the same architect as the Parthenon at Athens, and had a roof of stone. The Peloponnesians had no temple, one at Tegea excepted, so much celebrated for the beauty of the materials, and the harmony of the proportions. The god was styled Epicurius, from the aid he was supposed to have given in a pestilence. The statue, which was of brass, and twelve feet high, had been removed, and was then in the agora or market place of Megalopolis. This city, now called Leontari, was fifty stadia, or six miles and a quarter in circuit. The river Helisson ran through it into the Alpheus.

CHAP. LXXVIII.

Our situation—We return to Chiarenza—Arrive at Zante—Perform quarantine—Remove from the Lazaretto.

We had experienced, since our leaving Athens, frequent and alarming indisposition. We had suffered from fruits, not easily eaten with moderation; from fatigue; from the violent heat of the sun by day, and from damps and the torments inflicted by a variety of vermin at night; besides the badness of the air, which was now almost pestilential on this side of the Morea. My companions complained. Our servants were ill; and the captain, whose brown complexion was changed to sallow, had grown mutinous, and declared he would go away with his vessel, as he must perform a long quarantine at Zante, if his return were delayed; the annual

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unhealthiness of the Morea, toward the end of harvest, requiring increase of caution, and the magistrates of the island restraining the intercourse with the continent at that season.

In the afternoon we mounted for Pyrgo. We passed the night in the garden, in which we had stopped before; the gnats again molesting us exceedingly. Irritated on finding our faces, hands, and legs, carefully covered, the terrible insect buzzed about us with a droning noise, which sounded in the ear scarcely less loud than a trumpet. The following day we dined under a spreading tree, near a clear spring among thickets; probably that called anciently Piera, in the way through the plain to Elis. There the præfects of Olympia, and the matrons chosen to preside at the games in honour of Juno, killed a pig, and were purified with holy water, before they entered on their offices. We rested in the garden at Gastouni, and set out early in the morning for Chiarenza; both my companions, with some of our men, much indisposed. We found the Athenian lad, whom we had left behind ill of a tertian fever, mended. The sick sailor had embraced an opportunity, which offered, and was gone home to Zante.

We sailed from Chiarenza on Sunday the 20th of July, 1766; and the same evening entered the harbour of Zante, in which a squadron of Venetian ships of war under admiral Emo lay at anchor, waiting, as we were informed, for orders to proceed against the Dey of Algiers. We were hailed from the land, and the boat going ashore, the British consul, John Sargint, Esq. acquainted us that we must attend in the morning at the *Health-Office*. We were then ordered to the Lazaretto to perform a quarantine of fourteen days.

The Lazaretto is by the sea-side, at a distance from the town. We were lodged over our servants and baggage in a

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chamber without any furniture, the walls white-washed. The customary precautions were explained to us. In the evening our ward was regularly locked; and nobody was permitted to see us, but in the presence of our keeper. The consul and English merchants visited us, and with the former came a physician; my companions and two of our servants being ill of a fever, which was ascribed to the bad air of the Morea. We continued to supply him with patients, until we left the island.

The civility of the prior of the Lazaretto, and of the good fathers of the Latin convent adjoining, with the attention of our countrymen, rendered our confinement very tolerable. When the term was nearly expired, a small gratuity to the chancellor of the Health-Office obtained us a release. We paid our fees, as directed by the consul, and gave money to the guard of soldiers. In the evening we crossed in a boat to the town, where a lodging was provided. A capacious harbour filled, besides other vessels, with large ships and glittering galleys, a flourishing city with steeples and noble edifices, the sound of bells, the dress and manners of Italy, were all articles to which we had been long disused. The transition from misery and desolation was as striking as it had been sudden. We drew a most favourable contrast, and rejoiced on our safe arrival in the happier regions of Christendom.

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CHAP. LXXIX.

Of the island of Zante—The city—The Corinth-grape—Currants—Extract from Herodotus—The tar-springs—Remarks—Earthquakes—Not able to proceed—Occurrences at Zante—Embark for England.

ZANTE is a small island* belonging to the Venetians, full of villages and people; called by the Greeks Zákynthos. It consists of two or three not very ample valleys, sheltered by high bare mountains, well cultivated, and rich in their produce, as well as pleasant to the eye; the soil suiting the vine and the olive, orange, lemon and citron trees. Its wines and oil are deservedly extolled. Its melons and peaches are of uncommon size and exquisite flavour. It has been styled, not hyperbolically, *The Golden Island.* But room is wanting, and a considerable portion of the profits arising from currants, the staple commodity, is refunded for corn and cattle. They import live stock daily from the Morea; and in tempestuous weather a temporary famine not rarely ensues. The governor is appointed by the republic, and is subject to the superior jurisdiction of a general, who resides alternately at the places under his command. We were introduced to this officer, who was then in the city, by the consul. The inhabitants are chiefly Greeks, but wear the Italian dress, and are

* In circuit more than one hundred and sixty stadia, or twenty miles, and sixty stadia, or seven miles and a half from Cephallenia. *Strabo.*—In circuit thirty-six miles. *Pliny.*

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much latinized in their religious tenets and ceremonies. They are divided by internal feuds, and are exceedingly addicted to revenge, perpetrating assassinations even in their churches. The Morea serves them, as it were, for a sanctuary, and abounds in fugitives for murder and misdemeanors.

The city of Zante extends along the shore, and is adorned with several handsome structures. The Roman Catholics have their churches, nunneries, and convents, with various orders of friars; and the Greeks, whom we had seen humble and depressed, here rivalled the splendid pomp of their worship. High above the town is a steep round hill, crowned with a castle; the ancient citadel called Psophis. The governor now lives below; but the summit is inhabited, and some religious houses stand on it. The reflection of the sun renders the town extremely hot in summer, but the inflamed air is then usually tempered in the day time by the sea-breeze. The harbour is open to the north-east. One side is formed by a lofty promontory, on which is the church and miraculous picture of *the glorious* Madonna di Scoppo, from whose power and efficacious intercession many signal benefits, as they affirm, have been derived on the people. At the opposite extremity, by the sea-side, is a copious fountain of excellent water, supposed to come from the Morea, the stream bringing leaves of trees and plants not growing in the island. The maidens are carefully concealed as in Turkey. I saw a woman in a house, with the door open, bewailing her little son, whose dead body lay by her, dressed, the hair powdered, the face painted and bedecked with leaf gold.

The Corinth-grape, for which the island is now noted, was the produce chiefly of the country near the Isthmus, when it began to be particularly esteemed. We were presented

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with bunches newly ripened, while in the Lazaretto, and afterwards eat of them daily with much pleasure. It is a small species, the clusters large, the colour black, or a deep purple. The stocks, as usual, are planted in rows, and the leaf is bigger than the common vine. As a good season for the harvest is of great consequence to the people, they generally implore the intercession of their saints; solemnly visiting their churches, the priests and magistrates and persons of rank, both Italians and Greeks, walking in procession, in pairs, with lighted tapers in their hands. If these disappoint them, and the emergency require it, the glorious and miraculous picture of the Madonna di Scoppo is exposed, and fails not to influence the weather to their wishes.

The grapes intended to be preserved as currants are spread, when gathered, in beds on the ground. When dried by the sun and air, they are transported to the city on horses and mules, guarded by armed peasants; and poured down a hole into magazines, where they cake together. When the price is fixed and the duties are paid, the fruit is dug out with iron crows, and stamped into casks, by men with legs and feet bare. In the ships it sweats, and, as we experienced, often fills the vessel with a stench scarcely tolerable. The English, who have two or three merchants resident there, are the principal consumers. The Dutch partake, and supply the other northern nations. The islanders believe it is purchased to be used in dying, and in general are ignorant of the many dishes, in which currants are an ingredient. Our cook made a pudding, which was equally a subject of wonder and applause in the family where we lived.

The tar-springs of Zante are a natural curiosity deserving notice. "I myself," says the venerable historian and traveller

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Herodotus, "have seen tar brought up out of a lake and water in Zacynthus. And indeed the lakes are several, but the biggest is seventy feet wide every way, and twelve deep. Into this they let down a pole with a myrtle-bough tied to it, and then bring up tar on the myrtle-bough, in smell like to asphaltus, in other respects superior to the tar of Pieria. They then pour it down into a pit dug near the lake; and when enough is collected, in like manner from the pit into earthen vessels. All that falls back into the lake, going underground, appears again in the sea, which is distant about four stadia." The Pierian tar was reckoned the best made in Greece.

The tar is produced in a small valley, about two hours from the town by the sea, and encompassed with mountains, except toward the bay; in which are a couple of rocky islets. The spring, which is most distinct and apt for inspection, rises on the farther side, near the foot of the hill. The well is circular, and four or five feet in diameter. A shining film, like oil, mixed with scum, swims on the top. You remove this with a bough, and see the tar at the bottom, three or four feet beneath the surface, working up, it is said, out of a fissure in the rock; the bubbles swelling gradually to the size of a large cannon-ball, when they burst, and the sides leisurely sinking, new ones succeed, increase, and in turn subside. The water is limpid, and runs off with a smart current. After drinking of it, I was much heated. The ground near is quaggy, and will shake beneath the feet, but is cultivated. The grapes, of which we eat, were exquisite. At some distance, opposite, are the other wells, so nearly contiguous, as not easily to be counted, or indeed examined, the spot being marshy. These have less waste water, are deeper, of a stronger taste, a

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blacker dye, and more sullen aspect. We filled some vessels with tar, by letting it trickle into them from the boughs which we immersed; and this is the method used to gather it from time to time into pits, where it is hardened by the sun, to be barrelled, when the quantity is sufficient, and taxed as an article of the revenue. The odour reaches a considerable way. We were told, that a spring exists likewise in the sea, near the shore; and that the film floats on the smooth surface in calm weather.

Tar-furnaces are numerous in Turkey. They are formed in a bank, the bottom narrow; and filled with sappy wood of pines, cleaved into pieces. A fire is kindled at the top, and, burning downward, the juice, which distils, finds a passage out at a vent below. It has been conjectured, that the thick fluid substance, emerging with the water, is generated by a process analogous to this; subterraneous fire feeding on sulphureous matter, of which a portion is discharged at these apertures. Our thermometer rose in the air from seventy-five to eighty degrees, as the heat of the sun increased during our stay, and in the different wells from sixty-four to seventy. A communication, it is supposed, may subsist between these and springs of a similar nature by Dyrrachium and Apollonia, cities on the coast of Illyria; and their common fountain may be some distant volcano.

The tar is said to be emitted most abundantly when the wind is westerly, and when earthquakes happen. These are frequent. Soon after our arrival in the Lazaretto, we felt a very smart shock, which did much damage in the neighbouring island of Cephallenia; and was repeated, but with less violence, six times in the space of about twenty-four hours. The Zantiotes had been familiarized to this source of calamity,,

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and the terror of it was then, in a manner, swallowed up in their apprehensions for the approaching vintage.

On leaving Athens it was our purpose, after refreshing at Zante, to proceed to Ithaca, Cephallenia, and Corfu, the countries of Ulysses and Alcinous; and from the latter island to Brindisi and Naples. We were compelled to abandon that plan, by the difficulty of procuring from Leghorn so large a sum of money as was necessary, and, besides other considerations, by the infirm state of health, under which we laboured. The consul accepted our bills for three hundred Venetian zechins; of which near one hundred and thirty were remitted to Mr. Paul, the consul at Patræ, who had most readily and obligingly supplied us to that amount. Our return to England was resolved on, and we waited impatiently for the ships expected from Venice; whither it is required that all vessels go before they lade with currants at Zante.

During our residence in the city, the house of a person, who had fled from justice was razed to the ground by a party of soldiers; and the body of a state-prisoner, one Balsamachi of Cephallenia, who had been sent in irons from Constantinople, was exposed for a day on a gallows. He succeeded us in our apartments in the Lazaretto, and, when his quarantine expired, was privately strangled there, conveyed in a boat across the harbour, and suspended in the morning early; a paper hanging on his breast, inscribed with his name, his country, and crime in capital letters.

Some smaller vessels, which arrived, brought us intelligence that the Roman Emperor, Capt. Lad, and the Sea-horse, Capt. James for London, were preparing to sail from Venice. We agreed for a passage, and put our baggage and provisions on board the Roman Emperor, but were induced to remand

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them; and then fixed our hopes on the Sea-horse. That ship tarrying elsewhere, we embarked in the evening, on Sunday, September the 1st, New Stile, 1766, in the brig Diligence, Captain Long, carrying five men and two boys, bound for Bristol. After a stormy and perilous voyage we anchored in King-road on the 2d of November; but the Sea-horse was lost at Scilly on the 11th of the following month.

THE END.

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